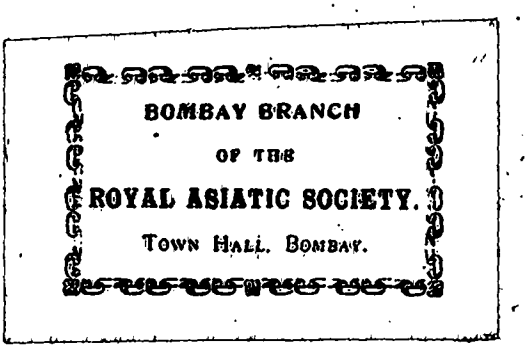

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THE

FOUR EXPERIMENTS

IN

CHURCH AND STATE

AND THE

CONFLICTS OF CHURCHES.

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BY

LORD ROBERT MONTAGU, M.P.

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Felix quem faciunt aliena periculâ cautum.

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TO THE

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

AS

A SMALL TRIBUTE

OF

AFFECTION AND GRATITUDE.

PREFACE.

IT is hard to conceive what general truths they, who would enact special exemptions in favour of 'Dissenters,' can ask us to recognise; or what principle it is which they seek to defend. At first sight there appears to be no method pursued by those who so persistently agitate against the National Establishment of religion. Mere resistance is not a method. The abolition of a State religion cannot be called a principle. Or if it be dignified by that name, let us at least carefully balance it with the ancient and fundamental principle which we desire to maintain. For them to say: 'Our form of worship shall be made the State religion,' would be carrying out a principle—the very principle in which we concur. They could then contest merely the *application* of that principle; they could dispute only as to the *accidents* with which that principle is to be surrounded, but would not differ from us concerning the *substance* to be upheld. They do not, however, act thus. They insist that there shall be no State religion: that there shall be no National Church at all. They deny entirely the principle which we affirm.

This, therefore, is the issue before us; this is the ground on which they attack Church-rates, and endowments, and clerical subscription, and the Irish Church, and even meditate an assault upon tithes. They would have us surrender our principles, and abolish the National Church.

High Churchmen, however, concur with the Dissenters in pleading that all sects should be left to do for themselves. Has, then, such an experiment already been tried? and has it been satisfactory? If so, then why, instead of giving us abstract arguments, do they not point to the tangible results of that experiment? But, on the other hand, if this is some new experiment which they ask the Legislature to inaugurate, then let them rather try it first *in corpore vili*, and not where failure would be fatal.

But what if we proceed to show that the experiment has been tried already in the case of schools; that it has proved a lamentable failure; and that it has aroused the indignation of a whole continent? What if we point further to the woful, nay, most damnable results of a similar experiment with the Church? What if we show that two centuries of endeavours could not secure a favourable issue for the experiment, although the priests of Baal have leaped upon their altars, and, amidst self-inflicted wounds, cried aloud upon their gods for success?

At any rate the National Church exists. Therefore the *onus probandi* should lie on those who deny the benefit of it to the nation. The presumption is all in favour of our assertion that the abolition of

that Church would be a gross injustice, and cause the greatest injury. It will not be sufficient for them to prove that the Establishment has defects as well as advantages; and that some other system has advantages (as well as defects of course); for this is true of every human institution. Our opponents have three points to demonstrate: (1) The absolute necessity for a change. (2) That a National Church is necessarily or substantially injurious; and (3), That the system which they advocate is essentially good, and must therefore be entirely beneficial. Until these feats of argument have been achieved, we might rest upon our existing rights.

But yet I hope to bring forward arguments *ex abundanti* to prove (1) on the grounds of reason, and (2) from experience, that a National Church is in every way superior to any other system which can be invented. Nay more, I will show that the proposal of our opponents has been often tried, and found to be the very worst scheme which has ever been imagined.

Let us, however, distinctly remember the point which has to be proved: let there be no confusion as to the real question at issue between us. It is not whether Episcopacy shall be the National Church; but whether there shall be any National Church at all. The former is a theme for theologians; the latter is a question for statesmen.

This same controversy involves the fate of Scotland also; for it is not in dispute whether the Presbyterian Church shall be the National Church of

Scotland; but whether there shall be any National Church at all. The Scotch have, therefore, exactly the same interest in the issue as the English and Irish.

The ultimate question for solution is merely whether there shall be a National Church. We shall not, therefore, discuss the theological topic of the *model* of Church Establishment—i. e. whether it should be Episcopalian, Presbyterian, or Independent. Because, that which has first to be determined is, whether there shall be any Establishment at all. It is true that our National Church happens now to be Episcopalian; just as at one time it was Presbyterian, and at another Independent; although, indeed, that last was so divided against itself, that it could not stand for a single decennium.

Seeing then that a National Church is not necessarily and essentially Episcopalian, the arguments against Episcopacy (if there be any of cogency and weight) do not touch our position at all. The question of the rights and powers of Episcopacy is not on political ground.

Similarly all the arguments intended to prove the Church of England to be unsound in doctrine (if there be any such of cogency and weight) have nothing to say to our enquiry. And all the arguments invented to show that the Church of England has improper rites, or useless ceremonies, do not at all come within the scope of our investigation. For none of these are political matters. In short, it is not our province to consider forms of religion, but

only the forms of a political entity.* I shall not, therefore, attack the prejudices of those who differ from us in doctrine; nor argue with those who dislike the ceremonies we practise. I address those who dispute the first ground; I seek to refute those who oppose the very principle of a National Church, as an engine of the State for the benefit of the nation.

But, as Bacon says: 'Our Church is not now to place; it is settled and established. It may be in Civil States a republic is better than a kingdom; yet God forbid that lawful kingdoms should be tied to innovate and make alterations: Qui mala introducit, voluntatem Dei oppugnat revelatam in verbo; qui nova introducit, voluntatem Dei oppugnat revelatam in rebus.' †

Yet, although the National Church is a fact, and the *onus probandi* lies entirely on those who oppose it;—although it is for them to show that a National

* Thus Coleridge says: 'But I affirm that (in the spiritual purpose of the word [sc. religion], and as understood in reference to a future state, and to the abiding essential interest of the individual as a person, and not as the citizen, neighbour, or subject), religion may be an indispensable *ally*, but is not the essential, constitutive *end*, of that national institute which is unfortunately, at least improperly, styled *The Church*. . . . Theologians formed only a portion of the clerks of the National Church.' The notion which gave them precedence, as being exclusively sacerdotal, was 'a misgrowth of ignorance and oppression. . . . No, the theologians took the lead because the science of theology was the root and the trunk of the knowledge of civilised man. . . . It had the precedency because under the name theology were comprised all the main aids, instruments, and materials of national education, the *nisus formativus* of the body politic, the shaping and informing spirit, which, educing or eliciting the latent *man* in all the natives of the soil, trains them up to be citizens of the country, free subjects of the realm.'—*Church and State*, p. 51.

† Bacon, *Wise and Moderate Discourse*, &c.

Church, however ancient the model of it, however pure the religion of it, however innocent the rites and ceremonies of it, is not calculated to further the important end we all should have in view ;—yet I may safely resign to them this vantage-ground, and show some of the important benefits of a Church Establishment in a political point of view ; and prove that its work is the preservation of a sense of religion and a feeling of unity; and that its function is to be the foster-nurse of piety, morality, and good citizenship. I shall further consider what other forms of Church establishments are possible and have been tried ; and lastly demonstrate that our own ecclesiastical institution, or the National form of Church, is by far the best organ for attaining that great object which has, in every age, been the aim of every ruler and ultimate end of every legislator.

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THE

FOUR EXPERIMENTS

IN

CHURCH AND STATE.

CHAPTER I.

A TRUE CHURCH IS THE STATE, OR NATION.—THE FOUR FORMS OF CHURCH AND STATE.

THE CHURCH has a twofold aspect—religious and political. The former, as beyond our province, I put altogether aside. The latter only is my theme. I shall presently show that, according to the Anglican theory, the Church and the State are only two views of the same thing. That is to say, the Church of England is truly a national Church. First, however, let me clear the ground of a current prejudice, which may be attached to my words and hide my meaning. Let me not be understood to speak of an 'alliance between Church and State.' This is a sophism which has arisen from a careless adoption of words, without a clear perception of their meaning. It is one of the *idola fori*. It is utterly inconsistent with that which I advance; for identity precludes alliance. That theory of an alliance was founded on a supposed

'original compact' between the State and the Church —a convention between the chief magistrate and the ecclesiastical Head. That was a mere notion. There never was such a compact. No conceivable meaning can be attached to such an expression as 'the State entering into an alliance with the Church,' except that utterly false and mischievous ultramontane system which I shall presently contrast with our national form of Church. The judgment of Archbishop Whately on this theory of an alliance may be considered as conclusive: 'In truth, I much doubt whether Bishop Warburton ever had, in respect of his theory of the "Alliance," any followers; because the theory is self-contradictory and suicidal. He first establishes, very satisfactorily, what are the respective provinces of a civil and a religious community; and then destroys his own work, by introducing a pretended compact between the two, in which each gives what it has no right to give, and receives, in return, powers which (by his own showing) it is intrinsically disqualified to exercise.'*

There is another phase of the same error, which is somewhat more prevalent; namely, to speak of the clergy as if they alone constituted the Church. 'He is going into the Church' is a common expression to denote that a person is about to receive holy orders. This is the same error again. Only on the supposition that the clergy constitute the Church can the State be supposed to enter into an alliance with the Church. In opposition to such a notion, I hope, in

* Archbishop Whately's *Errors of Romanism*, p. 186.

the course of the subsequent pages, to show that the original meaning of the word Church—that the sense which has always been approved in this country—that the idea which has been developed in history—is the same as that which has been expounded with so much force by Dr. Arnold, namely, that the Church is 'a society for putting down evil.' Speaking figuratively, the Church is the salt which is to savour the world, and stop the progress of corruption in secular dealings; it is the leaven which has been hid in a measure of meal, to raise men's thoughts and elevate the moral character of the world.

The Church is not an institution for what is called 'edification.' Its object is not to satisfy the cravings of a selfish anxiety about a future gain, apart from 'secular amelioration' or the common good of all. It is an association for putting down evil *generally*.

It must not, however, be regarded as an association within the State. It is not a clique or party. Quite the contrary. The idea of a Church shuts out all partisanship. For this association or society is the nation itself. The Church is the State. Every member of the State is necessarily a member of the 'society for putting down evil,' and trampling out whatsoever is injurious to the life of the State. In this sense it was (according to Dr. Arnold) that St. Paul compared a Church to a body; because it is a system with many limbs and members, all of which have various functions, and possess different gifts; while there is only one Spirit to animate the whole, and one Head supreme over all. The physical

interests of men are best advanced by a division of labour; when to each man is assigned a different function, according to his peculiar gifts and capabilities, while all tend to one end, and are animated by one and the same spirit. This is designated by the terms 'cooperation' and 'association.' So the Church is the principle of cooperation applied to moral purposes; it is an association wherein each man considers his peculiar intellectual abilities and moral gifts merely as the means for advancing the intellectual and moral good of society.

We must, however, be careful not to confound together our notions of religion and of a Church; and therefore it is most necessary to remember the close relation which subsists between them.

(1.) The *Christian religion* is the 'knowledge of the only true God, and of Jesus Christ, whom He has sent.' This regards a work on the soul; yet it comes within the sphere of a statesman's activity. For men's passions are their strivings after the various appearances of good; the difference of men chiefly consisting in the difference of their notions of the *summum bonum*, or the good thing. Hence men's passions and acts are but the counterpart of their knowledge. Thus Socrates used to say that virtue is knowledge, and that error is ignorance or madness. It must, therefore, be the aim of the statesman to correct men's notions of what is good; he must endeavour to spread a knowledge of the good thing. Theology, however, is not in the statesman's province. He has nothing to do with dogma. He does not deal with doctrines.

(2.) A Christian Church is an association for resisting evil; an institution for maintaining and communicating a knowledge of what is good. To use the words of Dr. Arnold, 'Religious society is only civil society fully enlightened; the State in its highest perfection becomes the Church.' By these words he conveyed the same doctrine which Aristotle had asserted more than two thousand years before him: *πόλις γιγνομένη μὲν τοῦ ζῆν ἕνεκεν, οὖσα δὲ τοῦ εὖ ζῆν.** States may indeed have been framed to enable us to live; while our real welfare is their proper end. The object of the Church is the improvement of man. This is also the object of the State. A national Church is one Christian society; and the State is the same society in another point of view.

I shall first adduce the testimony of various witnesses to warrant me in making such an assertion; I shall next trace this idea as it runs like a bright silver cord through the dark mazes of our history; and, lastly, I shall investigate all the other possible forms of Church and State.

I appeal first to Dr. Arnold, who, in his book 'On the Church,' says: 'It is obvious, also, that the object of Christian society, being thus extensive, and relating, not to ritual observances, but to the improvement of the whole of our life,—the natural and fit state of the Church is, that it should be a sovereign society or commonwealth. As long as it is subordinate and municipal, it cannot fully carry its purposes into effect. . . . So long, then, as the sovereign society is

* *Pol.* i. 2.

not Christian, and the Church is not sovereign, we have two powers, alike designed to act upon the whole of our being, but acting often in opposition to one another. Of these powers, the one has wisdom; the other, external force and influence; and, from the division of these things, which ought ever to go together, the wisdom of the Church cannot carry into effect the truths which it sees and loves; while the power of government, not being guided by wisdom, influences society for evil, rather than for good.

'The natural and true state of things, then, is that this power and this wisdom should be united; that human life should not be pulled to pieces between two claimants, each pretending to exercise control over it, not in some particular portion, but universally. . . . .' This is the perfect notion of a Christian Church; that it should be a sovereign society, operating, therefore, with full power for raising its condition,—first morally, and then physically; operating through the fullest developement of the varied faculties and qualities of its several members; and keeping up continually, as the bond of its union, the fellowship of all its people with one another, through Christ; and their communion with him as their common Head.

'With this notion of a perfect Church, two things are utterly inconsistent: First, the destroying of the principle of cooperation through the varied talents and habits of the several members of the society, and substituting in the place of it a system in which a very few should be active, and the great mass passive. . . . . Secondly, the taking of any parts of human life

out of its control, by a pretended distinction between spiritual things and secular—a distinction utterly without foundation. . . . The division rests entirely on principles of heathenism; and tends to make Christianity like the religions of the Old World; not a sovereign discipline for every part and act of life; but a system for communicating certain abstract truths, and for the performance of certain visible rites and ceremonies.'*

And afterwards he says more explicitly:—

'The State in a Christian country is the Church . . . If the Church be the society of Christians, then every Christian is a member of the Church,—a member of a society whose objects are his objects, its interests are his interests, and in whose concerns he is therefore called upon to take an active part.'†

Thus he describes his views from the side of the Church. When he takes another stand-point, and regards it on the side of our laws and constitution, he comes to the very same conclusion:—

'According to the theory of the English constitution in the sixteenth century, its Church and its State were one. Whether this identification be right or wrong, is no part of my present business to decide; but the fact is indisputable. . . . . And it is proved again by the language of the prayer for the Church militant; where the king's council and his ministers are undoubtedly regarded as being officers in the Church by virtue of their offices in the State.‡ . . . . And

* Dr. Arnold, *On the Church*, p. 10. † *Ibid.*, p 145, 148.
‡ *Lectures on Modern History*, p. 221.

this is the important part of the whole matter; that the original idea of the Church of England, as only another name for the State and nation of England, was now greatly obscured (1642–1660), and from this time forward was ever more and more lost sight of.* . . . Whilst the identity of Church and State was thus impaired, on the one hand, it was also lessened in another way by the total defeat of the Puritans, and by the ejection of such a multitude of their ministers by the new oaths imposed by the Act of Uniformity. Hitherto the Puritans had been more or less a party *within* the Church; the dispute had been whether the Church itself should be modelled after the Puritan rule or no; both parties, as yet, supposing that there was to be one church only, as there was one nation.'

I hope to show that this doctrine, so clearly and unequivocally propounded by Dr. Arnold, is really the ancient form of our Church, and is the only true meaning of the name 'National Church;' and, furthermore, I shall prove from history and from incontrovertible documents, that it is the only form of Church which is sound in politics and safe in its effects.

Moreover it excludes from the Church all faction and spirit of party. The Church has to teach citizens their duty, and inculcate Christ's manner of life, and foster the growth of the sense of Right;—or rather, it has to tear from men's eyes the sophisms and films which prevent them from seeing what is right. Thus

* *Lectures on Modern History*, p. 246.

Coleridge says of the Church:* 'I may be allowed therefore to express the final cause of the whole by the office and purpose of the greater part; and that is, to form and train up the people of the country to be obedient, free, useful, organisable subjects, citizens, and patriots, living to the benefit of the State, and prepared to die for its defence.' In all this there is no difference of judgment; it is not a matter of opinion; it cannot, therefore, be the foundation for party or faction. God is without parts. Christ is not divided. Where faction grows is far from God. Above all Christ's coat (the Church) was woven throughout without a seam. Party-spirit in the Church is assuredly, then, the devil's work—the manufacture and contrivance of the Divider and Maligner. But the idea of a National Church is the very opposite of a party-spirit. In it is no division. Thus Mr. Gladstone, speaking of the Church of England, says: 'That term (family) indicates a bond of union, independent of and superior to the will of the persons composing it; and imposing obligations on them, towards one another, which they are bound to fulfill. So, like the family, the Church entails upon us obligations, ... which are not limited as are the terms of a voluntary combination.'† And again, in his book 'On Church and State,' he expresses, in terms similar to those used by Dr. Arnold, the same notion of the essential union of all the members of the State, as members of the Church: 'On no other ground could a spiritual

* *Church and State*, p. 58.

† Gladstone's *Church Principles*, p. 98.

allegiance to the Pope be inconsistent with a patriotic allegiance to the Crown .... except only on the ground of a natural and indivisible connection between the two supremacies.' He further remarks that the principle of the Oath of Supremacy is made very apparent in 5th Eliz. c. i. § 17, which expressly enacts that temporal peers need not take the oath, because 'the Queen is sufficiently assured of their *loyalty*.' This idea was not, however, first propounded by either Mr. Gladstone or Dr. Arnold; for Burke said, in his speech on the Unitarian petition, on May 11th, 1792: 'In a Christian commonwealth the Church and the State are one and the same thing, being different integral parts of the same whole;' on which ground he asserts that 'an alliance between Church and State in a Christian commonwealth is an idle and a fanciful speculation. Because an alliance is between two things that are in their nature distinct and independent.' This is the explanation which he gives of a national Church. Of such a Church he says, in his essay on the French Revolution: 'The majority of the people of England —far from thinking a religious *National* Establishment unlawful—hardly think it lawful to be without one.' This idea is, however, much older than Mr. Burke; for the Earl of Nottingham, in his 'Memorial on the State of England,' in 1705, uses these words: 'It could not be expected that the Reformation should be so perfect at the beginning as that all persons should have the same notions about it, no more than they all had the same degrees of application,

capacity, light, or knowledge. . . . . However, by the *Church of England* was then understood (in other reformed churches) all the Protestants in *England*, without distinction, though, from the very first, they were divided in their opinions.'*

An earlier writing in the first of Lord Somers's collections is still more explicit and precise: 'The Church of England, then, is a political society of all the Christians in the land, united in the King, as head; and organised by the bishops, for executing those laws or government which he choses for their spiritual good and the public peace. . . . . It is not for private persons, but a Parliament, to prescribe the terms of national communion. . . . The Church here, therefore, must come under a double consideration, as the Church of Christ, and as the Church of England. Take the Church as the Church of Christ; and there must be (as we have said at first) endless controversy about this point,—Who are the true members of it? But take it under the consideration as national, and there will be none at all; for those must be members, whom the head, by a law, does allow to be parts of the body; and the King, under this notion only, is made head of the Church by the statute; that is, as it is called Ecclesia Anglicana.'†

This brings us back to those troubled times when, in every corner of the land, the relations of Church

* Memorial of the State of England, by the Earl of Nottingham, 1705 (*Somers's Tracts*, III. iv. 115).

† *Somers's Tracts*, I. i. 381, 382.

and State were canvassed and disputed about for a longer period than it took for the heroes to conquer Troy; until that settlement of the great question, which proved satisfactory to all parties, had at length been arrived at. The testimony of men whose opinions had been sifted, and whose conclusions were so speedily brought to the test in the turmoils of the epoch, must be worthy of the closest attention, and be regarded as of the greatest weight. Barrow writes, in his 'Discourse concerning the Unity of the Church,' p. 43: 'We avow it expedient (in conformity to the primitive churches, and in order to the maintenance of truth, order, peace) for several particular churches or parishes to be combined in political corporations. . . . We conceive it fit that every people under one prince (or, at least, of one nation using the same language, civil law, and fashions) should be united in the bands of ecclesiastical polity; for that such a unity apparently is conducible to the peace and welfare both of Church and State.' That is the judgment of a divine, no doubt; of one interested in the preservation of a system in which he was preeminent; and from which he had acquired a lustre and emolument. Let us now, therefore, turn to the evidence of one who was not a divine, but a professor of history in the University of Oxford; who was interested in the permanency of the overthrow of that system which benefited Dr. Barrow. Du Moulin, an Independent, had obtained his appointment from Cromwell, and dedicated his book to Bulstrode Whitelock, and to the other commissioners

for the custody of the great seal.* Du Moulin, in his 'Power of the Christian Magistrate in Sacred Things,' writes: 'But where the sovereign magistrate is of the same religion with the body of the people, these words—ecclesiastical, civil, spiritual, temporal, clerk, and lay—ought to cease, and with them the diversity of legislation and jurisdiction; and under such a magistrate the Commonwealth is a Christian visible Church, these words having but an accidental difference, but yet such as has caused a real difference. Now such distinction of words, which parts things that should not be divided, ceasing, the original of all order and power over all actions and things is seated on the sovereign visible power, and doth extend to and over all kinds of persons, none being exempted nor anything excepted, if it be not contrary to God's commands. In sum, the supreme magistrate is none other than the minister of God, for the good and salvation of those that are under his government.'†

And afterwards he thus developes the idea which he has stated: 'The magistrate is no more head of two things, Church and State, than of thousand kinds of actions in a Christian Commonwealth; which, for every one of them, needs not a particular sovereign power. Now these two things, a Christian Church and Commonwealth, cannot be so much as conceived to have a real being without each other; for, as every man is a reasonable creature, and every reasonable creature

* See *The Zealous and Impartial Protestant*, 1681, p. 6.

† Du Moulin's *Power of the Christian Magistrate*, p. 6.

a man, so every Christian Commonwealth is a Church, and every Christian Church is a Commonwealth. . . . . I think the Church is not different from the Christian Commonwealth, more than the understanding is from the soul. . . . In the like manner, that sovereign power in a State, though one in essence, hath its several faculties or powers, from which several actions do stream, tending to the ordering of the whole man, in his being and well-being, as well in things of the inward man as the outward. And (to follow the analogy between the body of man and the State) it is no little illustration to beget belief, that, as the *primum movens*, or sovereign power, is one, and extends itself as far as it is circumscribed by the *cuticula* or thin skin; there being not one sovereign power for the head, another for the lower regions, and a third for the bowels and feet; so in a State bounded, as England, by certain limits, no doubt, if it be one State or Commonwealth, it hath one sovereign power, reaching as well to Cumberland as to Kent and Cornwall, over all persons, actions, and causes; for if some persons or causes were exempted—as, for example, the persons and causes they call ecclesiastical, within the same limits of land, I do not conceive that there can be any such power, nor can I imagine where that power in matters ecclesiastical or ordering Church ways should reside, by which the supreme civil magistrate is bounded; but there may be as well ten thousand supreme powers and courts ecclesiastical within England as one single general power; for the civil magistrate's jurisdiction being distinct from the

ecclesiastical, he may not hinder that multiplication of powers, every one of these powers assuming to be *sui juris* in sacred things; or, if he hinders it, and prevaileth to have but one sovereign power in Church matters in all his dominions, this very act of prevailing will be a sufficient demonstration that there is but one sovereign power over all causes and persons, ecclesiastical and civil.'*

Bishop Hall, a short time previous to that period of trouble and sifting, wrote thus, in his 'Defence of the Remonstrance': 'Still my simplicity tells me there is but one Church of England. There are many churches in England; but many Churches of England were never till now heard of.' We may go back still further, and we shall find the stream of this idea, which runs through our history, still purer and stronger as we approach the source from whence it took its rise. Let me appeal, for instance, to that book which is universally regarded as the standard book on this subject; which at both Universities is held up, to the future clergy as well as to the future rulers of England, as the best and safest text-book of our laws and constitution as far as they apply to the Church. The 'judicious Hooker,' in the Eighth Book of the 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' writes:—

'We hold that, seeing there is not any man of the Church of England, but the same man is also a member of the Commonwealth; nor any, member of the Commonwealth, which is not also of the Church of

* Du Moulin's *Christian Magistrate*, p. 112.

England,—therefore, as in a triangle, the base doth differ from the sides thereof, and yet one and the self-same line is both a base and also a side—a side, *simply*; but a base, if it chance to be the bottom and underlie the rest. So, albeit, properties and actions of one do cause the name of a Commonwealth,—qualities and functions of another sort do cause the name of the Church to be given to a multitude; yet one and the self-same multitude may in such sort be both. Nay, it is so with us, that no person appertaining to the one, can be denied to be also of the other. . . If all that believe be contained in the name of the Church, how should the Church remain by personal subsistence divided from the Commonwealth, when the whole Commonwealth doth believe? The Church and the Commonwealth are in this case, therefore, *personally* one society, which society, being termed a Commonwealth as it liveth under whatsoever form of secular law and regiment, a Church as it liveth under the spiritual law . . . We mean by the Commonwealth, that society with relation to all the public affairs thereof; by the Church, the same society with only reference unto the matter of true religion.'

That is the deliberate judgment of the judicious Hooker, endorsed, as it has been, from his own days until now, by the concurrent approval of the learned of our Universities. It might be sufficient to rest here; but I prefer to go back to a still more ancient, a higher and a greater authority. By the language of the law of the land, the identity between Church

and State has been fully established. It rests on the decision of the King, the Lords and the Commons. Mark the words of the Statute of Appeals for instance (24 Hen. VIII. c. 12), 'Where by divers sundry old authentic histories and chronicles it is manifestly declared and expressed that this realm of England is an empire, governed by one Supreme Head and King; unto whom a body politic, compact of all sorts and degrees of people; divided, *in terms and by names of spirituality and temporality* . . . owe humble obedience . . . The body spiritual whereof having power, when any cause of the law divine happened to come in question, . . . then it was showed by that part of the said body politic, called the spirituality *now being usually called the English* Church; which hath always been thought sufficient of itself, without the intermeddling of any exterior person or persons, to determine all such doubts . . . And the laws temporal for trial of property of lands and goods, and for the conservation of the people of this realm in unity and peace . . . is administered by the judges and ministers of the other part of the body politic, called the temporality; and both their authorities and jurisdictions do conjoin together in the due administration of justice.'

What can be more clear, more explicit, more conclusive than this? Each of these authorities alone would be sufficient to establish my position; united, they are surely irresistible. Yet all I ask is that my postulate should be provisionally granted, until a more detailed examination of historical documents

shall have confirmed it and put it beyond all doubt, and out of the reach of cavil.*

* In the Evidence taken before the Lords' Committee on Church-rates in 1860, Mr. Toulmin Smith, a Nonconformist and a barrister, gives the following evidence: '474. Are you prepared to say that, looking upon the Church as having been in ancient times, and being now, the Church of the people, the Dissenters, although they do not conform to the worship of the Church, may be supposed to have an interest in it, and ought to be benefited by it?—Most decidedly; in the first place, just to clear the ground, I may say that there are many of the services of the Church, apart from the Sunday service, Burial for instance, which we know the Dissenters claim; everybody has an interest in many of the services of the Church, in marriages, baptisms, and burials. But more than this, it seems to me that every person has precisely as much common interest in the Church, although they are Dissenters, as I may have in a highway at the other end of the parish in which I live—it is for the common good of the whole community. It is quite impossible that, under any conceivable state of education, the majority of mankind will be able to go into deep questions of theological doctrine; but it is important to all that there should be a religious feeling throughout society, and it is certainly more for the interest of society that there should be a Church common to all who have no very particularly decided views, than to suppress that Church because every one does not subscribe to some particular dogma: for that is what it comes to. It is said, in effect, if you do not subscribe to my particular dogma you shall not have any Church. Now I may mention that my ancestors have, since the Reformation, been Nonconformists; and I yet say that every man has an interest in there being a Church which is common to the whole of the people, although they may not entertain any particular doctrine one way or the other; it is better for the common interest that there should be some place in which all have a common right, than that every man should be obliged to tie himself to some particular sect. The Church of England does not oblige people to tie themselves to any particular sect: it is the Church of all.

'478. I think the principal difficulty has been the separation in legislation, of late years, of religion from life, if I may so express myself. *It used to be part of the life of the people; and the whole of their institutions bound them together to feel that;* as they lived with common interests every day, so they worshipped God every day; but *lately* it seems as if religion was only a thing to be put on on Sunday; *all our legislation has gone to that,* whether intending it or not.'

And in 511, speaking of the law of Church-rates, which he had called a fundamental law of the Church, he says, 'I think that no mode in which the law could be altered could be otherwise than

It may, however, be objected that the Church cannot comprise the whole nation, because if the Church is the nation, then there are sects and divisions in the Church. This certainly is a fact to which we cannot shut our eyes. But what does this objection mean? It amounts to no more than this; that there are various shades of *theological opinions* in the

injurious, for you would take away the basis upon which the Church of England *must* rest, namely, that it is the Church in which all have a common interest, and that it is not a sectarian Church. I think that nothing you can amend or modify—for example, to exclude Dissenters—can do otherwise than make the Church simply a sect, and not a Church in which the whole of the people have a common right and interest.'

'518. I cannot understand the justice of exempting any man, because he chooses to say he is a Dissenter, from paying the rate, after having had those opportunities. It is an assumption that he alone is right, and that any man who does not agree with the opinions of the majority is not to be at the trouble of trying to show his fellow-citizens that he is right, but may call in the strong hand of despotism to coerce and put down those who do not agree with him. I say that this is contrary to the very spirit of our institutions.'

'531. The whole subject is treated as if the Church of England were a sect. . . . I distinctly maintain that it is the Church of all the people, and that individuals who do not like the doctrines taught in that Church to-day have no right to attempt to take away the interest which the whole of the people have in that Church both now and hereafter.'

'542. Does not the fact that at one time the Church of England, as it now exists, was declared to be the Church of the State, and that at another time the Presbyterian Church was declared to be the Church of the State, prove that it was the State which endowed the Church, and not that the Church was endowed by individuals? — Not at all; it proves this, that there is a Church, but it is to teach the people; to give them an opportunity of hearing the Bible read, and Christianity preached. There must be some form of doctrine. That doctrine is preached which the majority hold as their religious belief. At one time that majority were Roman Catholics, that being the state of the whole people; but the Anglican Church became the Church of the majority, and therefore the doctrines and forms of the Anglican Church are what are now taught and used in the Church of the people.'

Church. This is true enough. But yet there is no divergence in aim; no difference in our objects. It is still, I assert, but one Church; for the national Church does not rest upon dogma and opinion. A Church is not constituted and built up of theologies. It is one Church, in that all have but one aim and intent,—namely, to put down evil. In one body there are truly limbs of different shape, and parts which are held in different honour; yet for all that it is but one body; because all these limbs are animated by one spirit. The hands may not say to the feet, 'You are not of the body, because you are not hands as we are, because you do not exactly resemble us.'

'This would be all very well,' the objector may resume, 'as long as all agree to the Articles of the Church; but what if we dispute the Articles?' This is merely the same objection again, appearing in a different form. The Articles (as far, at least, as politicians, and not theologians, are concerned) are merely signposts or beacons, to point out the way to the enquirer after truth. 'The Articles of the Church of England are not imposed on the conscience as fundamentals, and of necessity to salvation (as Popish and Presbyterian principles are), but as pious, wholesome doctrines, articles of *consent*, for the avoidance of controversies and disputes.'* The subscription to the Articles, which is required of all the officers or clergy of the Church of England, is a safeguard for the laity; this subscription was ordered to

* *The Zealous and Impartial Protestant*, 1681, p. 8.

defend the laity from vagaries in doctrine; just as the Liturgy is imposed to guard them from innovations in practice. These prevent the congregation from lying at the mercy of a parson's caprices or wrong-headed scruples. It was in this sense that Mr. Gladstone, on June 9th, 1863, uttered this apophthegmatic sentence: 'The liberty of the clergy is the slavery of the laity.' Nay, the Articles are a bulwark to the people from the opposite side also; they prevent the Church from being driven from its anchorage, before the gales of popular notions. 'The Articles (said Mr. Gladstone) are less narrow than public opinion.' Hooker lays down the same doctrine concerning the Articles of the Church of England. As a law does not make that to be duty which was not duty before, but merely *declares* what ought to be done; so do the Articles of the Church not pretend to make that true which was not true before, but declare only what is true and should be believed as such. But even if some objector were to arise on the other side, and were to assert that the Articles proclaim what is orthodox, and that nothing is orthodox but what is to be found in them; yet I would reply that godliness is above orthodoxy. The State seeks for proper conduct, and looks for good citizens, and leaves the fostering of dogma to the unending controversies and acrimonious bickerings of divines. The knowledge of what is good is far more important than opinions. For all misleading passions, and all inconstant impulses in men, arise from wrong and unsettled notions of what is the good thing. There-

fore the Articles of the Church are a matter subordinate to the object of the Church, and second to the hearty communion of all. The Articles, after all, belong but to the sphere of dogma; although not unsettled like men's floating opinions. But still we say of them what Oliver Cromwell spoke in Parliament on September 4th, 1654: 'If they are but notions, they are to be let alone. Notions will hurt none but them that have them.' What the State has to deal with is conduct, and the ignorance or perverted judgment which makes men bad citizens, and causes an evil course of life.

A national Church does not, in fact, rest upon dogma. If it did, there would be a more plausible pretext for that further objection: 'What right has a government to impose its religion upon us?' To this, however, the retort is obvious: 'What right has a government to impose its laws upon us?' The fallacy in each query is the same; namely, a confusion as to the meaning and duty of government. It is not the duty of what is called 'the Government' to make or impose laws. It has to *administer* the laws of the land. It is the nation which has to declare the law or make statutes. So also it is the nation which ordains the model of the religious Establishment, and the kind of worship which shall be established. The Government is not one thing, and the nation another; nor is the Church one thing, and the State, or nation, another. What we call Government is merely the method which the nation has made for declaring and executing its laws;

the machine, in fact, which works for us. The Government, therefore, does not impose its laws; nor does it impose its religion.

Neither let it be supposed that an Established Church denotes the preservation, to a certain form of worship, of all the endowments which it chances to possess. For the law preserves equally all the endowments which belong to Dissenters. Those very same endowments which now support the Protestant Episcopal Church in England, once supported the same national Church when it was Romanist in religion; and at another time when it was Presbyterian; and again at another time while it was Independent or Congregational. It is the duty, certainly, of the administrators of the law to see that the necessary funds are supplied to fulfill the great State object for which a national Church is intended. And they have always done so in Roman Catholic, in Presbyterian, in Congregational, and in Protestant Episcopal times. It must not, therefore, be concluded that an Established Church means the preservation to a form of worship, or even to a model of church government, of the endowments which it has once acquired. An Established Church is the engine which the State employs as a means for imparting that education which the State is bound to provide (or more correctly, it is the function of the State, in providing that education). Education, I say; not instruction. By educating men, I mean, inducing them to aim at the really good thing. This is entirely preliminary to the secondary question of deter-

mining the form of '*religion*;' that is to say, fixing what doctrines shall be taught by that Church.

An Established Church is called 'NATIONAL' when it depends on the nation whether there shall be a Church at all, and of what sort that Church shall be. Whatever is ordered, sanctioned, or endorsed by the law of this land is 'national;' it is part of the constitution or constituted laws of the kingdom. A Church, then, is national when, on the one hand, the laws of the Church are recognised as laws of the land; and, on the other, when her rulers are not merely private umpires, but are qualified by law as authorities, coordinate with the sovereignty of the State; or rather, forming part of it. But, if the Church has an independent legislative power, whether it be more or less extensive than the State, or nation, then the Church is not national; for it is independent of the constitution, or the national will. Whence, also, it follows as a necessary consequence or corollary, that, in a National Church alone, all collision between an ecclesiastical and a civil power is avoided. Identity precludes clashing. But, when a Church has not the national form of an Established Church, then (as has been most amply proved by experience) sooner or later the Church and the State are sure to collide; then must a clashing arise; then endless disputes and bitter conflicts are inevitably engendered. For if, when a Church has no *legal* right to legislate, the church dignitaries (whether clerical or lay) assert that they have a *divine* right to do so, then they set the Church above the law of the land, as the divine

above the human. Then does the Church override the State, whether that Church be only within a *portion* of the State, or be more extensive than the State; and the State loses its free action and independent power. The sovereignty of the State then is gone. Locke's theory was that a Church is not bound to obey the law of the land unless it be established. He doubtless meant that a Church must be either a National Church or else an *imperium in imperio.*

These considerations furnish us with a very convenient method of division, for a classification of the forms of Church and State. There are two great classes, to which all churches, in regard to their relations with states, must necessarily belong.

A. NATIONAL CHURCHES; where the Church and State coincide, or are identical.

B. Where Church and State are TWO INDEPENDENT POWERS. The latter class may be divided. For

(1) Either the *State may be predominant,* while the *Church is an imperium in imperio*; which itself contains two subdivisions, viz.,

(α) where the seat of the Church power is external to the State;

(β) where the Church power is within the State;

(2) Or else, *the Church may override the State*; and here it matters not much whether

(α) the seat of the Church power be external to the State; or

(β) whether it be in the same land as the seat of the State.

Let this, then, be our classification.

Now there are, in fact, four great experiments in Church and State, which are now being carried on in different parts of the world. They are now, indeed, being carried on; but centuries stand by and point to the results of the experiments, and beckon us to the inevitable conclusion to which we must all arrive.

Let us then turn our attention successively to England, Russia, Rome, and America.

But I will first give a rapid sketch or outline of the chief features of these grand experiments, formed in the world's huge laboratory; on which I will afterwards enlarge, and from which we must draw our deductions.

A. National Churches (England).

State and Church regarded as identical substantially, and differing accidentally.

Lay and clerical elements are balanced; cooperation of priests and people.

The people's power secured by the levy of tithes and of church-rates, and by the parish law.

B. 1. Eastern Church (Russia).

The State overriding the Church. The Church

being, in fact, a mere political engine or tool of the State.

The clerical element is of no account as an independent power.

This form is a nearer approximation to the national form than either of the others.

The Greek Church is *ultramontane*; for the Greek Church extends beyond the limits of Russia. Beyond the confines of Russia it is in each case an *imperium in imperio*. That is to say, in other states the Greek Church is an independent power, with connections and relations external to each of those states.

B. 2. ROMANISM (Rome, or Papal States).

The Church overrides the State. The State being but a pabulum of the Church.

The lay element is of no account as an independent power. The clergy in the Papal States, are the preponderating power. Confession and the doctrine of submission or implicit obedience preserve the supremacy of the clerical power.

The Roman Church is *ultramontane*; for it extends beyond the limits of the Pope's dominions; beyond the confines of which it is, in each case, an *imperium in imperio*. In all other states besides the Roman, the Roman Church is an independent power, with connections or relations external to each of those states.

B. 1. β AMERICANISM, or THE WAY OF THE SECTARIES.

The Church and State unconnected; strictly speaking, there is no Church.

The clerical element is of small account; the clergy are politically nothing. But each sect is an *imperium in imperio*, or an independent power, entirely within the State.

As there is no bond of union between the sects, there cannot be said to be a Church. Each sect, moreover, is but a sandhill without cohesion or essential union. Each man's own opinion is paramount, standing out distinctly and boldly and apart from others. While the laymen's right to choose and remove their pastors gives them a supreme power, and reduces the clergy to a nullity.

Strange as it may appear, I shall presently show that this form is intimately allied with the Roman form; here I will merely premise that the Roman form may be maintained either by a Pope (or universal bishop), or by a company of bishops, or by a company of ministers and presbyters, or by each individual minister of each congregation, if they set up a power distinct from the State, and claim a higher origin than that of the government of the nation.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE NATIONAL CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

IN the early Saxon times cathedrals were built, and were endowed with lands by royal founders and by private benefactors. The payment of the greater tithes was also settled as a perpetual obligation on all Christians throughout the land. The lesser tithes were, at first, merely voluntary oblations. The sums accruing from these sources, as well as those arising from church-scot, were paid into a common fund for the fourfold purpose of supporting the clergy, maintaining the building in proper repair, relieving the wants of the poor, and granting hospitality to the stranger and wayfarer.* Parish churches were originally chapels of ease to the cathedrals. They were built and founded by those feudal lords who desired for themselves and for their retainers the benefits of a resident priest, and of a regular service. The limits of the estate became, thus, the limits of the parish. But the parish priest was no more than the bishop's curate, and entirely dependent on the bishop. In A.D. 668, however, Theodore, in order to encourage the building of parish churches, vested the patronage

* Southey's *Book of the Church*, p. 39.

of them in the founders and their heirs, and appropriated the tithes of the parish to the uses of the parish only.*

This rests on Bishop Short's authority. Stillingfleet, however, makes the following statement:—'The barons of England, in the epistle (Matt. Paris, ad A. 1239) to Gregory IX., plead, "That their ancestors had the right of patronage from the first planting of Christianity here." For those upon whose lands the churches were built, and at whose cost and charges they were erected, and by whom the parochial churches were endowed, thought they had great reason to reserve the nomination of the clerks to themselves. And this John Sarisburiensis saith (Ep. 6 and 119), "was received by a general custom of this whole kingdom." So that the right of patronage was at first built upon a very reasonable consideration; and hath been ever since received by as universal a consent as any law or custom among us. And the only questions now remaining, are whether such a consent can be made void by the dissent of some few persons who plead it to be "their inherent right to choose their own pastors;" and supposing that it might be done, whether it be reasonable so to do.'†

Theodore also procured a legislative declaration of the ancient right of church-scot, which was a tax amounting to one penny on every house; a sum in those days amply sufficient for every call which could

* Bishop Short's *Church History.*

† Stillingfleet, *On Separation*, p. 327.

be made upon it. King Ethelwolf subjected the whole kingdom to a law of tithes; so that the lesser tithes were now no longer voluntary. Up to the time of Theodore, the sees of the bishops were coextensive with the kingdoms of Anglia. Theodore was the first to divide them; the whole Church of England remaining, however, coextensive with the kingdom.*

From the earliest times the lay and the clerical elements were evenly balanced and strictly united. The sheriff or the earl governed each county; but the bishop was always associated with him in his judicial functions. They sat together in the county court; and went circuit together twice a year, to hold a court in each hundred, which was called a Tourn.† It was William the Conqueror who first separated their jurisdictions, on the introduction of the Canon-law of Rome. Of course he did not foresee the consequences which resulted from such a step. The clergy soon upheld that Canon-law. It had been manufactured expressly to withdraw them from the courts of the kingdom, and to place them immediately under the Pope. The result soon became apparent.‡ Before that time, most undoubtedly, there was no separation between the clergy and laity, whether in 'temporal' or in 'spiritual' jurisdictions (as men now choose to discriminate between them). Jurisdiction had not received that fanciful division into spiritual and temporal; nor were the clergy then regarded as, in anywise, essentially different from the

* Bishop Short. † *Ibid.* p. 32.
‡ Tindal; Washington; Southey.

laity. For instance: Prynne records the fact of a synod having been held at Verulam in 446 A.D., which was indiscriminately composed of clergy and laity; although the aim and object of the synod was the suppression of a heresy—the Pelagian heresy. He records also another synod which was held at Hatfield in 463 A.D., consisting, equally, both of clergy and of learned laymen. Hence, as far as regarded the so-called '*spiritual jurisdiction*,' the cooperation or association of clergy and laity was strictly maintained. On the other hand, the Anglo-Saxon Parliament, or Wittenagemôt, also consisted of an assemblage of clergy and laity, presided over by the king in person. This general council discussed and determined all questions, without distinguishing between temporal matters and spiritual, and made indiscriminately both ecclesiastical and civil laws. Such were the times of good old England. It was not until that apple of discord, the Canon-law of Rome, had been thrown into the midst, that the ecclesiastical power became separated from the civil power, and that both came to be regarded as distinct from the king. Then the three, having been divided, were left to wrangle and dispute for preeminence, with no Paris to judge between them. As soon as the Canon-law had been brought in, the clergy tried to bind the laity by laws, in the making of which the latter had had no voice, and to the introduction of which they had not given their consent. The clergy sought to make themselves a power distinct from the State; and, by continually achieving little conquests from

the State—that is, from the sphere of that which they called 'civil jurisdiction'—they endeavoured to obtain by degrees the mastery and entire supremacy over the State. Their progress was necessarily cautious, tentative, and slow. Even when the ecclesiastical and civil courts had been separated, in the time of William the Conqueror, still they were unable to acquire any legislative authority. No ecclesiastical laws could be enacted by any separate ecclesiastical power, but only by the Great Council of the kingdom.* Under William II., Henry II., and Richard II., the parliament even entered into discussions as to who should be acknowledged as Pope. We find also from the rolls, that parliaments used often to protest that they would not be bound by any ordinances made by clergy; and that the nation should never be made subject to priests. They also insisted on keeping in their own hands the punishment of refractory or rebellious ecclesiastics.†

Long before this, however, Ultramontanism had germinated, had struck root, and had begun to grow secretly and unobserved. For a long time 'the mystery of iniquity' had already worked. Shortly before the death of Augustine, there had been a point at issue between him and the British Church; namely, whether the British prelates should submit to Rome or no. But until the seventh century, at

* See Washington's *Observations on the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Kings of England.* Also Matthew Tindal's *Rights of the Christian Church.*

† Rot. Parl. 40 Ed. III. No. 7, 8; 5 Ed. III. art. 46; 6 Ric. II. 62, &c. &c.

least, nothing could induce the Britons or the Scots to acknowledge any authority in Rome. Even the Gauls and Spaniards, up to this time, had scarcely done so.* Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, appealed to the Pope during the reign of King Egfred; and was imprisoned for doing so. He was subsequently released and restored to his province; but was imprisoned again, by Alfred the Great, for contumeliously persisting in a repetition of this crime. The title of William I. to the crown was slight, to say the least of it. To give to his usurpation some colour of justice, however, he solicited the Pope's approbation of his claim, and obtained a consecrated banner to unfurl at the battle which was impending between him and Harold. After the successful issue of that contest, Pope Hildebrand (Gregory VII.) required him, in return for these Papal benefits and blessings, to do homage for the crown which he had acquired, to liquidate the arrears of Peter's Pence, and to promise a greater punctuality in the payment of this impost for the future. Thus were the liberties of England nearly sacrificed to the exigencies and injustice of an usurper. William, however, proud in his success, scorned a monk's demand for homage, on the ground that none of the kings of England before him had ever been guilty of such a low, base, craven, and dastardly act. On the contrary, he forbad his clergy to leave the kingdom without his express permission; and would not permit them to acknowledge any pope, or to excommunicate any Englishman without his

* Mosheim, ii. 79; Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 2; iii. 25.

sanction. Neither would he allow Peter's Pence to be gathered and sent to Rome; except, indeed, secretly, and as private benefactions, which he had no means of preventing.*

Up to this time emperors and kings had always appointed their own bishops. Hildebrand, however —that Macchiavelli or Mephistopheles of ecclesiastics—uttered curses deep and loud against all emperors and kings who gave investitures, and every ecclesiastic who dared to accept an induction from royal hands. William, notwithstanding Hildebrand's anathemas, forbad Lanfranc and forbad Thomas from going to Rome to receive, at the Pope's hand, their sacro-sanctal palls.

In the next reign, again, there arose a dispute between Anselm (Archbishop of Canterbury) and King William (Rufus) II. as to whether the Archbishop should receive his office from King or from Pope. For Anselm, in defiance of the law, had already acknowledged Hildebrand's successor (Urban), and had demanded permission to go to Rome and receive the embroidered pall from the Pope. The King of England regarded this as an infraction of his sovereignty, and a slight upon his supreme authority. He therefore arraigned the archbishop on a charge of having broken his fealty and the law of the land. The bishops of England sided with the King of England; because, up to this time, it had been only the archbishops who were bound by the oath of fealty, allegiance, and obedience to the Popes.

* Bishop Short, p. 32.

The bishops, therefore, remained faithful to their King and to the national Church of England, and declared that unless Anselm retracted his submission to Pope Urban, they would refuse to acknowledge him as their primate.*

This quarrel concerning investitures was carried on between Becket and King Henry II. And now the scene of contest was enlarged, for the Popes had increased their impudent pretensions. Becket (in obedience to orders, no doubt) determined to go a step further, and protect *all* priests, even the inferior clergy, from what he called 'the temporal sword.' He denied that they could lawfully be judged in the courts of any earthly king, and stood up stiffly for the 'liberties and dignities' (that is, the license and immunity) of his shaveling clerks. Becket opened the battle by holding conferences with the bishops and clergy, and then proudly informing the King that none of the clergy should be judged in a 'secular court.' A fierce struggle ensued. The King of England was the stronger: Becket gave way to the King. But Becket was not humbled; he soon retracted his submission. The contest was renewed. Becket again gave way, and promised that 'he would in future observe the ancient customs of the realm.' As this promise had been solemnly given by an Archbishop of Canterbury to a King of England, it became of the utmost importance to determine, accurately and once for all, what were those 'ancient customs of the realm.' This was the question which

* Carleton's *Jurisdiction*, p. 135; and Southey.

was finally settled in the year A.D. 1163. The solution was embodied in the 'Constitutions of Clarendon.' The barons had all been gained over to the party of the King, and the bishops were overawed. The King then took a step which was calculated to put an end for ever to clerical usurpation, and define the limits of that 'civil power' from which the clergy pretended to be exempt.* A parliament, consisting both of laity and clergy, of bishops and barons, as was our ancient custom and undisputed practice, was solemnly held at a town near Salisbury, which had been built by Constantius Chlorus. It was the *bishops* who there drew up a schedule of the ancient customs of the realm. They did not make the drafts of any new acts which they thought should be passed into laws; they merely investigated what were the ancient customs of the realm, and drew up a statement of the result of their search. These ancient customs then were endorsed as such, and received a solemn parliamentary and royal sanction, being called the 'Constitutions of Clarendon.' All this was stamped indelibly on the very face of the preamble: 'Recordatio vel recognitio cujusdam partis consuetudinum et libertatum et dignitatum antecessorum suorum, videlicet Regis Henrici, avi sui, et aliorum, quæ observari et teneri debent in regno.'† 'Johnson's Canons' contains the drift, or a summary of these Constitutions: the objects of them were 'to preserve the rights of the Crown; to prevent appeals to any foreign power;

* Hume, vol. i. ch. viii. p. 336; Southey, p. 92.
† Southey, *Book of the Church*, p. 79.

and to oblige ecclesiastics to submit to the ordinary courts of law,' &c. They are given more in detail by Hume and Southey: 'All suits concerning advowsons and presentations to churches shall be tried in the king's courts; all ecclesiastical persons shall answer in the king's courts for all the crimes of which those courts take cognizance; no chief tenant of the Crown shall be excommunicated; appeals shall lie from an archdeacon to the bishop, from the bishop to the primate, and from the primate to the King; the election of bishops shall be virtually with the King, although formally with the chapter; and until the chapter shall have elected a bishop of whom the King can approve, the whole revenue of the bishoprick shall revert to the King; and the bishop elect shall do homage to the King alone.' Thus was the King's entire supremacy over the Church declared to be one of the ancient customs of the realm. Of the Constitutions, Nathaniel Bacon says: 'No man that ever was acquainted with antiquity will question that these were received laws in the Saxons' time; nor did the clergy ever quarrel with them till the Normans taught them, by curtesie done to Rome, to expect more from kings than for the present they would grant. But King Stephen, that was indebted to the clergy for his crown, and could not otherwise content them, parted with this jewel of supreme power in causes ecclesiastical to the Roman cognisance, as hath been already noted.'*

* *Historical Discourse of the Uniformity of the Government of England*, by Nath. Bacon, 1747, p. 179.

These Constitutions had been drawn up by the bishops, and endorsed by the King and parliament. Yet Becket's contumacy, as servant of the Pope, was not to be put down even by the weight of the whole Church and State of England. He thereupon resigned his see into the hands of the Pope; from the Pope he received pardon for the part which he had taken in these heretical 'Constitutions of Clarendon;' and, having been pardoned, he was by the Pope restored to his see. Thus Becket received from the Pope's hands that which he could obtain only from the King. This, of course, irritated Henry, who retaliated by laying an embargo on all the 'Peter's Pence,' and sequestering the primate's vast estates. He also demanded from the Pope a solemn promise, that the Popes should ever 'maintain to the Kings of England the customs of the King's ancestors, otherwise he (the king) and his clergy would no longer obey the Pope.'*

At Becket's death, the King, in penitence and contrition for having persisted in doing right when all these three-hatted holy men had persisted in doing wrong, let the Pope at last get the appeals. The last resort was in future to be to Rome, and not to the steps of the throne. The stout-hearted English nation, however, would not submit to such a foreign yoke.

It must be borne in mind that these quarrels were always purely political, and had nothing whatever to say to religion. It was the struggle of a national Church against the Roman form of Ultramontanism.

* Southey, p. 92.

Thus Carleton wrote: 'Religion is not, nor ever was the cause why our Kings punished the Pope's clerks; but only jurisdiction. For when the Pope will stretch his jurisdiction so far as to include coactive power, and to exclude kings from the government of their subjects, drawing the clergy from the obedience of their kings to the obedience and subjection of the Pope; drawing the subjects of other kings under his subjection by an oath of allegiance; and hereupon persuading all that will hearken to him that they may not yield an oath of allegiance to their own princes; the Pope's jurisdiction being drawn to these points (as now by the confession of themselves they are) the question between the Pope and Christian princes is not of religion but of jurisdiction, of civil and coactive jurisdiction; and the sum of all is this—Whether the princes of Christendom shall be free princes, or the Pope's vassals?'* After Becket's death, the Bishop of Norwich was chosen primate. King John sent to Pope Innocent, asking him to confirm the choice. But the Pope haughtily replied, that 'the consent of a king was not thought necessary where an election was made in the presence of the Pope.'† The Pope then decreed that Stephen Langton should be chosen primate instead. As most of the monks of Canterbury were loyal to the King, they refused to yield obedience to the Pope. Some, however, with reluctance obeyed. The King, in reply to the Pope's decree, wrote to signify his determination to

* Carleton's *Papal Jurisdiction*, p. 175.

† Southey, p. 128.

support the ancient rights of his crown, and to cut off all correspondence with Rome, if the Pope persisted in his demand; because that the 'clergy of his own dominions were of sufficient learning, and had no need to look to strangers either for advice or judgment.' The words which Shakspeare puts into John's mouth accurately express the feeling which all Englishmen at that time entertained:—

> Thou canst not, Cardinal, devise a name,
> So slight, unworthy, and ridiculous,
> To charge me to an answer, as 'the Pope.'
> Tell him this tale; and from the mouth of England,
> Add thus much more,—That 'no Italian priest
> Shall tithe or toll in our dominions.
> But as we, under God, are Supreme Head,
> So, under Him, that Great Supremacy,
> Where we do reign, we will alone uphold,
> Without the assistance of a mortal hand.'
> So tell the pope; all reverence set apart
> To him, and his usurp'd authority.

Here, then, we light upon the very same circumstances which subsequently caused the Reformation: the same proud bearing and ambitious usurpations on the part of the Pope; the same independent feeling and love for a national Church on the part of the English people. The difference was in the executive of the nation. Had Henry VIII. lived now, the Reformation would have taken place upwards of three centuries earlier. But the miserable King John gave way to the haughty Pope; and slavishly crooking his knee, he with craven heart surrendered his kingdom. The stout barons of England rose up in wrath, and declared that John, by so doing, had

released them from their allegiance.* Then these stalwart peers levied war on John (now no longer King of England, but only a wretched vassal of the Pope), styling themselves 'the army of God, and of the Holy Church [of England].' They fought for their own national Church, and struggled against the Roman form of Ultramontanism, and against John, the tool of the Pope. The barons were victorious; and the first article of the 'Great Charter' which was signed at Runnymede, declared that 'THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND SHALL BE FREE, AND ENJOY ITS WHOLE RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES INVIOLABLE.' Under Henry III. (A.D. 1275) a law was enacted which ordered that every accused clergyman should be tried by a jury of his countrymen before the ecclesiastical courts should be permitted to take the matter in hand. Edward I. was equally punctilious in making the laws reach over ecclesiastics, and in not permitting the clergy to evade the due execution of those statutes. The struggle concerning investitures also raged still. Traces of the conflict remain deeply imprinted upon the laws of that period. The famous statute of Carlisle (25 Ed. I.), for instance, asserts that the right of patronage and induction to bishopricks is vested wholly in the King. When Edward III. came to the throne, he refused to perform the homage with which John had saddled his successors. Urban V. tried to intimidate him; expecting, doubtless, the same success which had attended the like experiment on John. The Parliament of England, how-

* Southey, 137.

ever, supported the King by the strongest assurances, and fortified him in his resistance to the Pope. The struggle concerning investitures, also, was still carried on. The statute of 25 Ed. III. declares, 'that the right of disposing of bishopricks was in the King, by right of patronage derived from his ancestors, before the freedom of elections had been granted.' Edward III. also wrote an epistle to Clement V., in which he said, 'that the King did dispose of them *jure suo Regio*, by his royal prerogative; as his ancestors had done from the first founding of a Christian Church here.'* So that our Kings in those days held to this right with the greatest tenacity and firmness; while these ambitious endeavours and ultramontane encroachments of the Popes, so far from making the sovereigns and people of England relinquish the rights of their national Church, only served to attract the attention of all learned men, and to draw forth from them many warm, earnest, and even violent protests against Ultramontanism, and in favour of the national form of Church. This had been the case long before the time of Edward III. In the reign of Henry III. Robert Grosthead was Bishop of Lincoln. Matthew Paris states that he† refused to obey an order of the Pope to induct certain persons into the Cathedral at Lincoln; and even wrote back to the Pope, calling him an 'enemy of Christ,' and 'an *heretic*,' for commanding a bishop to disobey his sovereign, and for interfering in the affairs of a

* See Stillingfleet, *On Separation*, p. 326.
† See Field's *Book of the Church*, p. 811.

national Church. The Pope raged violently on receipt of this letter. He became, however, somewhat pacified by the exertions of some cardinals, who assevered that 'Bishop Grosthead *was in faith a Catholic*, in life a most holy man, of great learning, and everywhere respected; that the *things he stood upon* (viz., the national form of Church) *were just and right*; and that therefore it was not safe for him (the Pope) to proceed against the bishop, least some tumult should follow; which they besought him the rather to think of, *for that there must be a departure from the Church of Rome*, which they would not have him hasten by this means.' Mark well; this was in the time of Henry III. These wily cardinals could well read the signs of the times; signs which continued to glare in the political horizon for three centuries, until the Reformation broke out with a vengeance on the head of Popedom. The bishop, finding that the Pope 'sought to usurp such an unlimited, universal, and absolute authority as in no way pertained to him, feared not to call him antichrist, &c. . . . . Neither was he alone in this opposition; but we shall find that *the whole state of England*, after many complaints against the Pope's encroachments, usurpations, and tyrannical intermeddling in things . . . . told him, in the end, that if these courses were continued, *they should be forced to do that which would make his (the Pope's) heart to ache.*'* All this happened in Henry III.'s reign. There was thenceforward

* Field, *On the Church.*

a kind of apostolical succession of these great Protestants. Protestants they were; for they protested against the same thing that the Protestants of the sixteenth century protested against. They protested against the ultramontane encroachments of Romanism upon their own beloved national form of Church. The next in this succession—who deserves particular notice—was Massilius Patavinus, who in 1324 wrote 'Defensor Pacis' against the Pope's jurisdiction; wherein he asserts that no bishop or Pope can have jurisdiction unless it be granted to him by the sovereign of the country.* Michael Cezena was another. He was arrested in 1328, by the Pope's orders, for writing treatises of a similar purport. Cezena appealed against the Pope; and the universities of Oxford and Paris backed him up in his appeal.† He then openly professed that he had always adhered to the doctrines of the Catholic Church and to its constitutions, and resisted the Pope's usurped jurisdiction only. William of Occham, of Merton College, Oxford, also wrote on the same subject at the same time, and in the same sense. He maintained that the Pope was under the jurisdiction of the Emperors. This brings us down to John Wicliffe, also of Merton College, Oxford. He followed in the steps of his senior, William of Occham. In 1367 he ably defended the claims of the King against the encroachments of the Pope; denying the supremacy of the Pope, and maintaining (according to Fuller) the superior authority of the King and of

* See Carleton, p. 249. † See Carleton, p. 256.

the civil power, against the Roman form of Ultramontanism. He censured the clergy, also, for 'refusing to pay taxes, unless when they were authorised by Rome to do so, just as if they were really subject to a distinct and independent jurisdiction.' He thus proved the correct notion which he entertained of the subjection of all to the head of the State; or rather, he showed that he cherished the idea of a truly national Church. His answer about Peter's Pence also proves his firm conviction that the State, and the State Church, must be independent of every external power.* In his 'Complaint to the King and Parliament,' he wrote: 'The chief lordship in this land, of all temporalties, both of secular men and religious, pertains to the King of his general government: for else he were not King of England, but of a little part thereof. Therefore the men that busy themselves to take away this lordship from the King, as don friars and their fautors, in this point are sharper enemies and traitors than Frenchmen, and all other nations.' The object of the friars was to stir up the people to revolt from their sovereigns, and thus to induce them to become wholly servants to the Pope. Wicliffe protested that he loved and honoured the Church of Rome, and taught that which had always been taught by that Church; but that he resisted the novelties and innovations which the Pope and friars sought to introduce. By the Roman Church he meant the Western or Latin Church. Of the Pope he spoke in

* Bishop Short, p. 61.

very slighting, scornful terms (De Veritate Script.): 'Fieri potest quòd Dominus Papa foret ignarus legis Scripturæ; et quòd Anglicana Ecclesia foret longè præstantior in judicio veritatis Catholicæ quàm tota ista Romana Ecclesia collecta de istis Papa et Cardinalibus.'* Wicliffe further states (in his 'Complaints') concerning the friars, that before A.D. 1200 there were no friars; but that a little after that time the orders of the Dominicans and of the Franciscans were confirmed by the Pope. A man called Saint Dominic instituted the order of Jacobites or Dominicans; and another man, Saint Francis, established the order of the Minorites, Franciscans or Mendicant Friars. The learned priests and the friars were warmly opposed to each other. The former clung to the ancient religion, and resisted the magnifying of the Pope's power,† while the friars, on the contrary, taught that the King of England is not lord of his clergy; but that the Pope is lord of the clergy.‡ It was these friars who wrought such alterations both in the doctrines and jurisdiction of the Roman Church. So much so, that (as Carleton testifies) 'immediately on the establishing of these orders, great bloodshed ensued, and persecution was practised on men who did not allow the Pope's jurisdiction. The first of these persecutions was against the Albingenses, who had withstood the Pope's pride and jurisdiction.' Carleton continues: 'And this is testified by others also, that the first

* Carleton's *Jurisdiction*, pp. 269, 270. † *Ibid.* p. 115.
‡ Wicliffe, *Lib. de Fundam. Legum Anglicæ*, cap. 36.

cause of the Pope's persecutions was not for doctrine, but only for the Pope's jurisdiction. Reinerius, writing against the Waldenses, testifieth thus much: that they differed from the Church of Rome in no point of doctrine, but only they denied the Pope's jurisdiction. "Hæc secta Leonistarum (for so they were called) magnam habet speciem pietatis; eo quod coram hominibus juste vivant, et benè omnia de Deo credant, et omnes articulos qui in Symbolo continentur; solam Romanam Ecclesiam blasphemant et oderunt." So that all the heresy which there was found in them was only against the Pope's jurisdiction; they swerved not from the doctrines of the Church of Rome; but the friars made the alteration from that ancient doctrine.'*

In the 27 Ed. III. (A.D. 1354) a deadly blow was struck at the supremacy of the Pope in England, by the passing of the Act of Præmunire. Under this Act, all who appealed to the Papal court, or in any way acknowledged the authority of Rome, were to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure. Richard II. took up the cudgels when he came to the throne. Hollinshed relates (Hol. 478), that he even disputed the ecclesiastical liberties of the city of London. At his first parliament he retained all the 'Peter's Pence' to pay for the armaments against the French. This he did under the plea that all this treasure, which was said to be due to the Pope, was merely an alms, to which the Pope had really no right or

* Carleton's *Jurisdiction*, p. 115.

claim. In the 16th year of his reign (cap. 5) a stringent Act of Præmunire was passed.

We come now to Henry V. During the reign of Henry III., Robert Grosthead, Bishop of Lincoln, had accused the Pope of being *a heretic*, because the Pope had invaded the rights of the national Church, and had denied the ecclesiastical supremacy of the King. So now also, under the height of Popery (2 Hen. V. c. 7), *the judges* were empowered to institute enquiries regarding *heresies*. The clergy, even, were not permitted to decide what was heresy. This may seem very strange to our ears, and dissonant to all our notions of heresy. We forget what a national Church really is; and therefore we cannot know what it is to differ from the national Church. Heresy is the denial of the national Church, or separation from it. Heresy is, therefore, a political offence, of which the representatives of the executive are the proper judges.

During the reign of Henry VI. (A.D. 1427), the collector of the Peter's Pence for the Pope was constrained by the Privy Council to find bail, because he had introduced some of the Pope's bulls into England.* A parliament of Henry VII. (6 Hen. VII. c. 5) passed an Act to the effect that anyone who had obtained a *royal* license to found a chapel, was thereby exempted from all ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This was the darkest time of our history. Popery was now stronger and more prevalent than ever. The resistance to it was languid. The idea of the

* Fischel, p. 204.

national Church was nearly lost. But, of old, when the oppression was most severe, then Moses came. The night is darkest before the dawn begins to break. The pains of labour become sharpest when the child is coming to the birth. So, now that Romanism was rampant, the Reformation was near at hand.

In the year 1514 (5th Henry VIII.) the Convocation made an onslaught on Dr. Standish, for advocating the cause of the civil power, and asserting that ecclesiastics should be amenable to the common law of the land.* King Henry supported the learned doctor, came to his rescue, and saved him from the deadly grip of the ultramontanes. This little incident was but the prelude to a general awakening from the lethargic slumbers caused by the depressing influences of Romanism. In 1532 (23 Hen. VIII. c. 19) an Act was passed, subjecting the clergy to the penalties of an Act of Præmunire if they presumed to meet without the King's express leave and sanction. This was done to frustrate the design which the clergy still entertained, to destroy the national form of Church, by becoming independent of the State. At the same time, also, the King graciously granted pardon to his spiritual subjects; thus, in effect, declaring himself to be their spiritual head. In the year 1533 that statute, to which I have already referred (24 Henry VIII. c. 12), became the law of the land; that statute, I mean, which solemnly declared the identity of Church and State. It is

* Bishop Short, p. 80.

grounded on 'the ancient customs of the realm;' for it is founded expressly on 'sundry old chronicles,' which declared that the King is the supreme head of an empire which is *nominally* divided in spirituality and temporalty (although there is no real difference or distinction between these parts, and although the authority and jurisdiction of them are conjoined together), seeing that the function of each of them is the administration of justice. This, as well as subsequent Acts, was a solemn declaration on the part of the nation, that the King of England is the supreme head of the Church of England, and that the Church is identical with the State.

But this was merely political. All the acts of this Reformation-time were merely political. They never refer, in the remotest degree, to doctrines or theology, but relate entirely to the relation of the Church to the State. The doctrinal purgations and lustrations speedily followed. I thank God for it. But with those I have nothing to do. Theology must not come in to create discord and disturbance in a purely political investigation. I repeat that the Reformation was political. Thus Mosheim says (iii. 148): 'This downfall of the Popish power in England, however, was of little advantage to the lovers of pure religion; for the King, though he destroyed the *empire* of the pontiff, yet retained for the most part the old religion.' And again (p. 168): 'So early as the year 1534 the Convocations of both provinces, and the two Universities, formally pronounced that the Roman bishop has no

greater jurisdiction given him by God over England than any other foreign bishop.* To this disclaimer of a long-established authority nearly all parties responded warmly, and at once. It seemed as if Papal interference in English affairs was so palpable an usurpation that men only needed some little consideration, and an assurance that they might safely speak their minds, in order to shake it indignantly off their shoulders. . . . Nothing is more remarkable in the English Reformation than this immediate appearance of unanimity upon such a great leading question.'

The Reformation involved a question of jurisdiction. The authority of the Pope in externals was denied. Men soon questioned, no doubt, the doctrines which they had accepted on the Pope's authority. But what I contend for is, that the Reformation itself was a political question, which concerned the national form of Church. This was the 25th of Hen. VIII., a great, busy, and eventful year. The Act of Supremacy finally set aside the whole jurisdiction of the Pope. It also enacted that all canons and ordinances of the Church which were not in opposition to the laws of the realm, or to the prerogatives of the King, should continue and remain in full force. In the same year an Act was passed which put an end to the struggle concerning investitures; for it declared the whole power to reside virtually in the crown; and gave merely a *congé d'élire* to the Chapters. This Act was reestablished by the 8th of Elizabeth, c. 1.

* See Collier's *Eccl. Hist.*

By the 31st Hen. VIII. (cap. 10) the sovereign was again declared to be the head of the Church; in that a layman, Crumwell, was placed, as the viceregent or representative of the king, upon the bench of Bishops, above the Archbishop of Canterbury. This Act also established the King's power and authority to correct abuses in the Church.

Before proceeding with the course of history, it will be well to pause at this eventful period, in order to observe the position of the National Church, and consider the real nature and character of the Reformation. It was, as I have already said, a merely political move; at the first, without doubt, doctrine had little or nothing to do with it. There were then, and had before been many, in the bosom of the Roman Church, who had clung to the pure and ancient Christianity; and had never bowed the knee to images, nor believed all those false traditions of which the Church of England was subsequently divested, by the good sense of the nation. The Reformation was essentially a revindication of the national form of Church; a reassertion of the supremacy of the king, and repudiation of every authority distinct from the sovereignty of the nation; it was the rooting out of all ultramontanism, and of every independent power in the State. The Reformation was but a return to the 'ancient customs of the realm,' in opposition to Romanism. During the long years which we have lightly skimmed over, the kings of England, in carrying on a brave struggle for the rights and powers of the crown; and the loyal Eng-

lish nation, in supporting their sovereigns,—were both of them fighting to preserve the national form of their Church against the usurpations of Popery; that is, against the encroachments of the Roman form. It was this work which Henry VIII. had now the boldness to complete. He never changed his religion, nor altered a jot of his faith. He had been a Roman Catholic before; he was a Roman Catholic still. But, by asserting the supremacy of his crown, he ceased to be a papist; he delivered the English Church from Romanism (although she was still, alas! depressed by the virus of false doctrines). He vindicated for his people their ancient national Church. This is the view which Dr. Arnold took; for he says,* 'The doctrine of the king's supremacy . . . declares the identity of the Church and State.' That is, without the supremacy of the king there can be no national Church. The king's supremacy is essentially and always present in the national form of Church. Popery is not, and cannot be, a national church. Elizabeth was in a position, towards the Church of England, widely different from that in which Philip stood to his. The one represented the head; the other was the slave. The one was the protector; the other was the tool. Philip's Church had its heart out of his kingdom; its centre was in Rome. Elizabeth's Church centred in the sovereign, the representative of the power, the executive of the will, of the nation. Romanism may be a State religion; it can never be a national religion. The

* Arnold, *On the Church*, p. 226.

Roman Church may be the *established* Church in a nation; it can never become a national Church. This, then, was the turning-point of the whole dispute between the Popes and the kings of England. This was the spirit of the Reformation. Doctrinal changes happily followed after the lapse of years; but the Reformation itself was merely political. Thus Matt. Tindal writes:* 'I need not mention more authorities on this head; since nothing can be more notorious than that the king's supremacy, as settled by Acts of Parliament, was, BY OUR DIVINES, made the *characteristic of the Church of England against Popery and fanaticism*; and was not only the means by which the Reformation was carried on, *but the ground on which the whole was justified.*' Aye! this was the character of the Reformation; and not in England alone, but everywhere else also. Where men had the manliness to hate thraldom, and the courage to shake it off, there the Roman form was discarded, and the national was resumed. In the Reformation throughout Europe, the power which had formerly been wielded by bishops and ecclesiastics was now intrusted to the several kings and temporal rulers of Europe; and, in the imperial cities, to the municipalities of them. The Reformation, all over Europe, consisted, at first, in nationalising the several Churches. Thus Dr. Döllinger, himself a Papist divine, and eager, if not to promote, at least to apologise for the Roman form, writes:†—'When

* *Rights of the Christian Church*, p. xl.

† Dr. Döllinger's *The Church and the Churches*, 1862, p. 31.

we look over the whole course of the Reformation-century, at the result of the great movement, and the state of the newly-formed religious communities, we find everywhere the victorious principle of National distinct Churches manifesting itself. . . . To the temporal power, to princes, and their officials, in Protestant lands, was assigned, in its fulness, ecclesiastical power, with a supremacy in spiritual matters.' This evidence is good and trustworthy; for it is the testimony of an unwilling witness. This fact is most distasteful to Dr. Döllinger; it grates harshly against all his predilections, and militates strongly against what he seeks to prove. He continues: 'If a general "Lutheran Church," or an "Evangelical" Church were mentioned, this expression, in reality, meant no more than an aggregate of national Churches, each one of which was limited by the frontiers of its own country. . . . In the same manner there were, and there still are, in "reformed" Switzerland, only Cantonal Churches' (p. 32).

Mosheim goes even further. He regards the Reformed Church as a union of national Churches, *differing in doctrine*, but yet united by the bond and tie of this one principle: viz. the national form of Church and State. These are his words: 'All other Churches stand united by the bond of a common system of doctrine and discipline: but this is not the case with the "Reformed Church," which neither holds to one system of faith (but to many creeds, considerably variant); nor adopts the same modes and forms of worship; nor has everywhere the

same constitution and government. It allows very many points of doctrine, and those of no little consequence, to be variously stated and explained (provided the great first principles of religion and piety remain inviolate). This Church may, therefore, be called *a great community*, made up of various kinds of Churches.'*

Let us then bear in mind that the *Reformation* had, at that period, no reference to doctrine, but regarded only the *form* of the Church. In corroboration of this fact we find that the Papists still continued to communicate with us, until the 11th of Elizabeth; when they were forbidden by a bull which the Pope fulminated against them. Sir Edward Coke mentioned, in a speech at Norwich Assizes, that until 1569 the Papists and Protestants used to worship amicably together in our churches, without objection or repugnance.† That happy and Christian practice might have continued until now had not the anathemas of Pius V. forced the Papists to separate from us, and fostered in the minds of Protestants the baneful prejudice that the Reformation began with doctrine and rested on opinion. Stillingfleet also bears me out.‡ Papists could for many years attend the services in our churches, even while they professed the Roman Catholic religion, and maintained their own priests, and heard their masses in private, thinking themselves

* Mosheim's *Eccl. Hist.* vol. iii. book iv. § iii. part ii. p. 352.
† See Bishop Hall's *Defence of the Remonstrance*, p. 24.
‡ *On Separation*, p. 108.

excellent Catholics all the while. Why then can they not do so now? Why did they not continue to do so then? It required a bull to be launched at them from the Vatican, to force them to separate from us. On this schism Leslie writes as follows:—

'Now, it is the undoubted right of every national Church to reform, alter, and model their Liturgy as shall be most convenient, provided there be nothing put into it that is contrary to the Faith. . . . . In England, before the Reformation, there were divers (Liturgies) in several dioceses, as what was used in the church of Salisbury, of Hereford, of Bangor, of York, of Lincoln, &c., as is mentioned in the Preface to our Common Prayer-Book, concerning the service of the Church. But these differences did not break communion; nor did the alteration made at the Reformation, till the Pope, by the plenitude of his supremacy, and to be revenged on Queen Elizabeth, took upon him to break the communion. For which, as there was no sufficient cause (our Liturgy being all orthodox, even our enemies being judges); so, on the other hand, the Pope's supremacy did not extend to break in upon the rights and liberties of any national Church; as has been, and is still maintained by the whole Gallican Church, and others the most learned in the Church of Rome.'*

When talking of the national form of Church, let us then get doctrines and opinions out of our heads. Theology is all very good for divines; citizens can do without it. A Bible and a national Church is all we want.

* Leslie's *Case stated*, p. 101; 102.

A Romanist once asked a Protestant sharply, 'Where was your Church before the Reformation?' The Protestant retorted thus: 'Where was your face before it was washed?' I have also read another answer to the query: 'Saul and Paul were the same man; but Paul was Saul reformed.' I have also read another retort, which was given by a Parliament man: 'Did the British Parliament not exist before the Reform Bill?' These retorts are amusing, and served to get rid of a questioner. The fact, however, should rather be borne in mind, that the Reformation did not consist in handing over a quantity of endowments from one congeries of doctrines to the support of another set of doctrines, and of a new-fangled religion. What the Reformation accomplished was to restore the Church *in* England to its original national form, and make it be again the Church *of* England. To *reform*, means to bring back the pristine *form*. The Church being the engine of the State for accomplishing a certain object—nay, rather, the Church being the State itself in the execution of a certain function—it follows that a reformation of the Church must be a purely political move.

Let us follow out this thought, and view it in another connection. Bishop Grosthead called the Pope 'a heretic,' on the ground that the Pope interfered with a national Church. The bishop himself would have been a heretic if he had obeyed the Pope rather than the King, and made a breach in the form of the national Church. He who denies the Church is a heretic; not he who disputes certain doctrines. He who separates himself from the Church is a

heretic. He, therefore, who denies the King's supremacy; he who sets up an *imperium in imperio*, or an independent Church power in England, is a heretic; for he repudiates and denies the National Church of England. Thus Dr. Arnold asserted:* 'The *heretic* was not properly he who did not believe what the Church taught, but he who wilfully withdrew himself from its society, refusing to conform to its system, and setting up another system of his own.' This assertion is corroborated by the fact that such was the meaning generally attributed to heresy or schism at the time when Dr. Barrow wrote. These are his words:† 'The nature of schism is hence declared, viz., that it consisteth in disturbing the order and peace of *any single Church*, in withdrawing from it obedience and compliance with it.' In support of this view, Barrow quotes at length, in his book on the Pope's supremacy (p. 25), some passages from Bellarmine, as well as from Cardinal Baronius; in which passages those learned cardinals brand as heretics those (and they both acknowledge such persons to have been *very* numerous, long before the Reformation) who 'curtail the Pope's authority so far as not to allow him any power over sovereign princes in temporal affairs, much less any power of depriving them of their kingdoms and principalities.' Heresy therefore relates to the *form of Church*, and not to *doctrines*. All, in the days of simplicity and clearer vision, agreed that to deny or repudiate a

* *Lectures on Modern History*, p. 47.

† *Discourse on the Unity of the Church*, p. 45.

form of Church is heresy. In fact, according to Dr. Field,* *none* of those theological errors which Protestant divines now impugn were at all generally held by Roman Catholics before the time of the Reformation. Those errors and absurdities and assumptions, and mummeries were the tenets of but few. Other writers also testify to this. For instance, Carleton informs us: 'In 1541 (before the Council of Trent), Cardinal Contaren wrote a tractate on Justification, which he handled conformably to Luther or Calvin, and directly opposite to what was afterwards agreed to in the Council of Trent. In doing so he taught nothing but what had been and was the known doctrine of the Church of Rome.' After mentioning others who had done the same, Carleton proceeds: 'But will ye have the truth? the points of faith and doctrine were not the things which most hindered this concord, for in these things many of that side were very conformable, and more might have been drawn; but there was another thing which crossed all peaceable purposes; this was the Pope's jurisdiction. If it had not been for this jurisdiction, the doctrine of Luther might have been easily granted; for what taught he which was not before him taught in the Church of Rome? I grant that the contrary was also taught by friars; for in the Church of Rome, before the Council of Trent, some taught after the manner of the new-devised doctrines which friars brought in; others taught the truth,

* *Book of the Church*, p. 81, and p. 185.

preserving the ancient doctrines in most points, till that time, as by their writings extant appeareth.'*

Quoting from Sleidan, lib. ii., he asserts that one of the reasons which King Henry VIII. alleged in his protest against the Council of Trent was 'that it belonged not to the Pope to call councils, but to the Emperor and to the kings of Christendom. . . . In fine, the King giveth advice to all other princes and magistrates, to govern their own people, to establish true religion, to reject the Pope's tyranny, as he had done.' The French king sent a somewhat similar protest to the Council, adding that, 'if need required, he would use such remedy to restrain the Popes as his ancestors had used before.' The Church of England and the Church of France both refused to admit any authority in the Council of Trent, and ignored the proceedings. Maurice, Duke of Saxony, also required that the Pope should submit himself to the Council, and remit the oath which he had taken of the bishops of the Council, viz., that they would do nothing against the pleasure of the Pope. It is needless to add that his petition was utterly rejected.† The Spanish bishops combined with the few German bishops who were there, and resolved (says Carleton, quoting from Sleidan), 'Pontificis Romani potestatem intra certos fines includere, nec illius aulæ tantum facultatis in omnes provincias attribuere,' to reduce the Pope's authority within bounds, and not to yield to the Court of Rome so

* Carleton's *Jurisdiction*, p. 108. † *Ibid.* p. 111.

great power in all the provinces.* It cannot, therefore, well be doubted that the Reformation was a political move at first, having respect entirely to the form of Church and State, but not at all to dogmas and theological questions. It consisted in a final abjuring of Roman ultramontanism, and establishing of a national Church.

We must also observe that it is only by identity of Church and State that the King can be head of the Church, and that an *imperium in imperio* can be prevented. If there are two heads, one for the Church and one for the State, there must be two separate and independent powers, or an *imperium in imperio*. The Act 26 Hen. VIII. c. 1, had formally declared the King to be the head of the Church. This was reiterated by 1 Ed. VI. c. 2. These Acts were repealed in the first year of bloody Mary, as impugning the authority and separate jurisdiction of the Pope, but were reimposed and received a fresh Parliamentary sanction in the 1st Jac. I. c. 25. By the 5th Ed. VI. c. 4, we learn that Parliament retained for itself the power of excommunicating; heresy or schism from the Church being regarded as a crime against the State. Elizabeth, in the first year of her reign, obtained an Act 'to restore to the Crown the *ancient jurisdiction* over the State, ecclesiastical or spiritual.' This measure received an additional sanction by being again passed in the eighth year of her reign. The principle involved in

* Carleton's *Jurisdiction*, p. 112.

the Oath of Supremacy becomes very apparent in 5th Eliz. c. 1, § 17, which enacts that temporal peers need not take the oath, expressly because 'the Queen is sufficiently assured of their *loyalty*.' Hallam* also mentions that Lord Burleigh wrote a treatise, in the year 1583, in which he made out that Popery was not persecuted for its doctrinal character, but for its political results. Three years before, Walsingham had written a letter to the same purport, grounded, that is to say, like that of Burleigh's, on the assumption that the Church and State are identical.

In the reign of James I. there was embodied in the Articles a most explicit recognition of the national Church. I quote from the 'Vindication of the Lower House of Convocation' (A.D. 1717, p. 43): 'That those who added the last clause in the 34th Article (wherein only express mention is made of a *national Church*) to that Article, as it stood in King Edward's reign, meant "the realm" by that "Church," must plainly appear to those who are versed in the public and private writings of those days; and we have particular evidence of it, preserved by the care of Archbishop Parker, in Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, in an original paper (of which Mr. Strype has given a copy in his "Appendix to the History of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth") entitled "The Protestant's Discourse, prepared to have been read in public conference at Westminster upon the second question:"

* *Const. Hist.* i. cap. iii.

The proposition to be maintained by the Protestants was almost in the very words of the clause, added soon after to the Article, viz., "*Every particular Church hath authority to institute, change, and abrogate ceremonies and rites in the Church, so that it tends to edify*;" and the paper begins with *declaring what is meant by the words of the proposition for avoiding ambiguity of terms.* By these words, "every particular Church, we understand every particular kingdom, province, or region, which, by order, maketh one Christian society or body, according to distinction of countries and orders of the same." So that, by the National Church of England, they could mean nothing else, more or less, than the kingdom of England, which, by the order thereof, had made itself a Christian society or body.'*

The clergy under Charles I., however, disregarded the idea of a national Church, for they strove to set *themselves* up as an independent power in the State.† Bastwick was arraigned before the High Commission for a book which he wrote, called 'Elenchus Papismi.' He was fined, imprisoned, and excommunicated. Tindal asserts that, 'in the censure of Bastwick, all the bishops then present *denied openly that they had their jurisdictions as bishops from the King.*' Prynne makes a very similar assertion concerning Archbishop Laud, in his 'Trial of Laud' (p. 551); for he says that Laud's design was to raise

* *Vindication of the Lower House of Convocation*, A.D. 1717, p. 43.

† Whitelock's *Memoirs*, p. 21; Matt. Tindal, *Rights of the Christian Church*, p. xlvii.

the ecclesiastical power above the law of the land. This was one of the articles of his impeachment.* Of course there were also other counts in the indictment, lest so big a criminal should snap a single line and sail off triumphantly, with the harpoon merely galling his sides. The fact, however, remains, that Laud's offence was having aimed at changing the national form of our Church into the Roman form. Before he was caught out he had almost succeeded in making a clergy-church. In proof of this position I adduce the following words, written by the Earl of Nottingham, in his 'Memorial on the State of England:'† 'Archbishop Laud gave much reason to suspect that he aimed at a sort of *patriarchate*; and to be styled, as the Archbishop of Canterbury was in former times, *Alterius orbis Papa, the Pope of the other world*, as the British islands were reckoned on their first discovery. But I think them extremely ignorant or unjust who affirm that this great prelate was *in doctrine* a Papist, or Popishly inclined.' Of course it was not a question of doctrine even then. They had not then fully arrived at the days of dogma and opinion. It was still a political question, namely, an issue between the national form and the Roman form, or clergy-church. Here is a quotation from a speech of Lord Falkland, to corroborate the foregoing testimony: 'Some have evidently laboured to bring in an English, though not a Roman, Popery; I mean, not only the outside and dress of it, but equally absolute, a blind dependence of the people

* Rushworth, ii. p. 818. † Somers, III. iv. p. 117.

upon the clergy, and of the clergy upon themselves; and have opposed the Papacy beyond the seas, that they might settle one beyond the water' [i.e. trans Thamesin, at Lambeth].*

Lord Falkland could not have alluded to the King. There are various grounds for assurance that he had other persons in his mind when he uttered those words; one of which is that the very first of the canons of the Church of the previous year (1640) ran thus: 'The power to call and dissolve councils, both national and provincial, is the true right of all Christian kings within their own realms.'† Such an assertion of the King's supremacy was utterly inconsistent with a clergy-church and schemes of an English Papacy. No ambitious *clergy* would have framed such a canon *of their own accord. The King* must have insisted on it as part of his prerogative.

Lord Falkland, then, evidently spoke the above words of Laud and of his clergy, who were striving to set themselves up as an independent power in the State. And here are words, penned by Milton in the same year (1641): 'Have they (the priests) not been told, of late, to check the common-law, to slight and brave the indiminishable majesty of our highest court, the law-giving and sacred Parliament? Do they not plainly labour to exempt Churchmen from the magistrate? . . . Nay, more: have not some of their devoted scholars begun, I need not say to nibble, but

* Lord Falkland's Speech, Feb. 9, 1641; quoted in Arnold's *Lectures on Mod. Hist.* p. 244.

† Matt. Tindal, *Rights of the Christian Church*, p. xxxviii.

openly to argue against the King's supremacy? Is not the chief of them (Laud) accused out of his own book, and his late canons, to effect a certain unquestionable patriarchate, independent and unsubordinate to the Crown? From whence having brought us to a servile state of religion and manhood, and having predisposed his conditions with the Pope, that lays claim to this land, or some Pepin of his own creating, it were all as likely for him to aspire to the monarchy among us.'*

Now we enter again upon times of tribulation and sifting, and events from which our ancestors learned much, and by which they were made wiser. We may learn much from their records of those events; by them we also may be made wiser. Let us remember that this tribulation was sent as soon as the idea of the National Church was forgotten, and the clergy sought to set themselves up as an independent power, and looked to become a clergy-church and *imperium in imperio*. They did not succeed in getting rid of the national form; they were deterred from establishing a clergy-church instead. The ancient form was maintained for some years, in spite of them; although the model of it was altered. Episcopacy was exchanged for Presbytery. It was in the year 1645 that the Presbyterian model of Church government was recognised and established as the National Church in England.

There were many, however, in England who, no less than the High-Church prelates, sought to get rid

* Milton, *Reformation in England*, book ii.

of the National Church. They desired what was then called 'the way of the Sectaries;' they wished to have no Church at all. To such men the Presbyterian model of a national Church was no less displeasing than the Episcopal. The Sectaries regarded it as an odious tyranny; and abused it as much as they had before maligned Prelacy. They objected altogether to any Church being connected with the State; and resisted the ultimate appeal, in church matters, which the Parliament had reserved to itself. Into this subject I shall enter in detail when I come to that form which I have called Americanism, and sketch the history, and describe the characteristics and nature of the Sectaries. The National Church itself is now our subject. At the time to which I have been alluding it was placed between two fires; it was in danger from the Roman form on the one side, and from the way of the Sectaries on the other.

On June 5, 1643,* the 'Assembly of Divines' was summoned by both Lords and Commons to meet in Westminster, and settle the Liturgy and government of the Church of England. Sixty-nine divines answered to the call, and met in Convocation. The Rev. Dr. *Twist* preached a sermon to them and to the two Houses of Parliament. On July 19† they evinced a strong desire for uniformity; and proclaimed their sense of the importance of a national Church by petitioning Parliament for an ordinance which should oblige all youths to be regularly catechized by the clergy; and which should suppress all

* Parliamentary History. † Ibid.

corrupt doctrines, speedily and with a strong hand. This proves their yearning for a national Church. But it proves also, that the idea of it was but faintly impressed on their minds. They looked for a national Church among doctrines and opinions and unstable notions. In a subsequent chapter we shall see to what excesses this led them.

On September 13, Parliament referred the 'Solemn League and Covenant' to the Assembly of Divines.* This was a covenant to which every one was obliged to subscribe. By this subscription, all bound themselves to extirpate the Episcopal model of church government; to promote the adoption of the Presbyterian model; and to *bring the three kingdoms to an uniform* adoption of the Scotch confession of faith and form of worship. The Assembly of Divines approved of it. Parliament passed an Act decreeing that all above the age of eighteen years should subscribe to the Covenant; and that all clergymen who refused to take it should be reported to Parliament as 'malignants,' and deprived of their benefices. Seven thousand clergy were ejected from their livings on this ground. It is very remarkable that the Assembly of Presbyterian divines should have already acquired such power in the State. The approval of an Assembly of Divines was thought necessary before Parliament could venture to pass an Act. These ecclesiastics had well-nigh succeeded in that which Laud and the Episcopalians had aimed at; they had almost established a clergy-church to overrule the

* Parliamentary History.

State. The Solemn League and Covenant was, in itself, somewhat of a departure from the form of a national Church; for it proceeded on the assumption that the Church stands on an agreement in *doctrine*; it did not regard the Church as the Church of the nation. If it had not been for Oliver Cromwell, the injury from this step would have been far greater. Cromwell would brook no *imperium in imperio*; he would not suffer the Church to become a power independent from the State; he, the civil governor and commander of the army, himself acted as the head of the Church. For instance,* he wrote, on January 10, 1644, the following order to the Rev. —— Hitch at Ely: 'I require you to forbear altogether your choir-service. . . . I desire your sermons, too, where usually they have been, but more frequent.' Oliver Cromwell betrayed no leaning towards the way of the Sectaries; he never imagined that 'the State has nothing to do with religion.' Neither does this seem to have arisen from any overweening pride in his own powers, so much as from a just conception of a national Church. For, in the same letter, he appeals to the authority and direction of Parliament to warrant him in what he was ordering. Southey† goes so far as to assert that Cromwell 'would gladly have restored the Episcopal Church in England.' The desire of Southey's prejudices may have fathered such a thought in Southey's mind. For it seems to have rather been the case that Cromwell was above dogmas, and did not set much store by the rites and cere-

* Carlyle's *Cromwell.* † *Book of the Church*, p. 509.

monies of worship, nor even by the model of church government. D'Aubigné writes of the Protector (p. 258): 'Although an Independent by principle, he thought that all the Reformed Churches were part of the Catholic Church, and he looked with equal favour upon Independents, Presbyterians, and Baptists . . . He excluded no Christians from his fraternal sentiments, however much they might vary from the forms to which he was attached.' Cromwell seems to have been strongly impressed by the idea of a national Church, and to have had it much more clearly before his mind than D'Aubigné had. D'Aubigné perceives that the Protector cared little for the model of church government, and still less for the forms of worship. But there was something else, besides all this, which D'Aubigné designates by the very general term 'fraternal sentiments.' It was no sentiment at all;—if Cromwell held to the idea of a National Church, and therefore regarded all Englishmen, whatever their opinions, as necessarily members of it. And if this were the case, it would also account for the fact which has already been mentioned,—it would have caused Cromwell, as chief of the State, to be pertinacious in not permitting the Church to escape from his grasp and become a clergy-church. A short time subsequently he resorted to very strong measures to effect this same object. On March 20, 1654,* Cromwell named thirty-eight men, as a commission, to try all 'public preachers,' and license those whom they deemed fit to officiate. This commission was not

* See D'Aubigné's *Protector*, p. 234.

even a commission of divines; laymen were associated with clergy. In this step also it was very remarkable how little he prized dogmas. For it was not the duty of this commission to estimate the learning and capabilities of the clergy, but to judge only of their moral character and conduct; the commission was to consider merely whether they (to use the language of that day) were 'children of God.' The commission, moreover, contained representatives of every opinion; it comprised Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists. On August 28, Cromwell nominated, moreover, from fifteen to thirty of the gentry in each county. To them he assigned the duty of inquiring into the *conduct* (not the *opinions*) of 'scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers,' to judge them, and, if they thought fit, to eject them. Poor Cromwell had no easy task; none but one of his nerve would have continued to struggle for a national Church. The ordinance enjoined the dismissal of 'all ministers who were guilty of profane swearing and cursing, perjury, adultery, fornication, drunkenness, common haunting of taverns or alehouses, frequent quarrellings or fightings, or of maintaining popish opinions.' The latter item, which crawls humbly at the tag end of that fearful category of the characters and qualities of *Puritan* divines, doubtless had reference to certain ultramontane tendencies, or predilections for a pope or independent ecclesiastical head to the Church. Cromwell, moreover, divided England into twelve districts, placing each of them in charge of a church officer, whom he called a

major-general. This civil functionary had to superintend all civil and religious matters, and control all the clergy in his district. Who, then, can imagine Cromwell to have held that the 'State has nothing to do with religion?' By these ordinances he not only proclaimed the union of the Church and State, but even resorted to a general dragooning, by the State, of a somewhat unruly Church. If there was a fault anywhere, it was not in a tendency to Romanism, nor in any liking for the way of the no-church sectaries; although he might, with some show of reason, be blamed for a proclivity towards the Russian form of Church and State. For these major-generals were lay bishops, who were armed with very arbitrary and extended powers, and were appointed by the State.

I have already said that, if Cromwell really held to the form of a national Church, it would account for acts which, on any other ground, would be anomalous and inconsistent. Cromwell himself has determined this doubt. For in a speech made by him shortly after issuing these ordinances, viz., on April 3, 1657, he uses these words; 'Besides, if any whatsoever think the interest of Christians and the interest of the nation inconsistent, *or two different things*, I wish my soul may never enter into their secrets.'* Thus Cromwell, by word and act, openly proclaimed the identity of Church and State, with all the consequences which follow from such a principle.

It is true that he reserved the subsequent question,

* Carlyle's *Cromwell*, iii. p. 274.

namely, what form of worship, and what model of church government, should be established, and what doctrines should be taught. For he was not a theologian, but a statesman. But yet he was by no means careless as to the necessity of establishing some religion. For we find one of his Parliaments confirming an Act which had been passed in 1647, to 'provide for the payment of tithes and other duties.' On April 13, 1652, a statute was made to the effect that tithes were to be continued until a better means for the maintenance of religion could be discovered. D'Aubigné asserts (p. 267) that 'Cromwell feared that if religion were left entirely to herself, she would be rent in pieces and annihilated, as it were, in the struggle of sects and parties.' This is, perhaps, the meaning which may be extracted from a speech of Oliver Cromwell on September 17, 1656: 'This, therefore, I think verily, if it may be under consideration for reformation:—I say, if it please God to give you and me hearts to keep this straight, it may be a great means in giving countenance to just ministers, in countenancing a just *maintenance* to them, by tithes or otherwise. For my part I should think I were very treacherous if I took away tithes, till I see the legislative power settle maintenance to ministers another way. But whoever they be that shall contend to destroy tithes,—it doth as surely cut their throats, as it is a drift to take tithes away before another mode of maintenance, or way of preparation towards such, be had. Truly I think all such practices and proceedings should be dis-

countenanced. . . . Therefore I think, for the keeping of the Church and people of God and professors in their several forms in this liberty,—I think as it (this of tithes, or some other maintenance) hath been a thing that is the root of visible profession, the upholding of this, I think you will find a blessing in it:—if God keep your hearts to keep things in this posture and balance, which is so honest and so necessary. . . . Therefore I say, in these things, which tend to the profession of the gospel and public ministry, you will be so far from hindering, that you will further them.'*

The idea of a national Church, to which Cromwell individually clung, had probably nearly faded away, by this time, from the minds of the people generally. Culpepper, for instance, asserted (and it is likely that he was merely reiterating the common talk of others) that the King, the Lords, and the Commons were the three estates of the realm. Such an assertion was vehemently contravened by Hyde, Lord Clarendon; who maintained that the King is the sovereign head of all, and that the 'three estates' are *the Church, the Lords, and the Commons.* Clarendon's doctrine is corroborated both by 25 Henry VIII. c. 21, and by 1 Eliz. c. 1, § 26 & § 35; where the Church, Lords, and Commons are evidently regarded as the three estates. The words are these: 'The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, representing the whole state of the realm.' In later days Coleridge wrote thus: 'I say that the

* Carlyle's *Cromwell.*

King is not an estate of the realm, but the majesty of all the three.'*

Under Charles I. the prelates had attempted to form a clergy-church. The same tendency was revived again at the Restoration. Under Charles II. the clergy became rampant; 'they must become independent; they must have a separate jurisdiction.' This baneful notion, this desire to become a clergy-church, this aim at an *imperium in imperio*, so antagonistic to the national form, became an established principle of action and a darling project with the 'High-Church party' at the Restoration.† The idea of a national Church must, indeed, have already become very mouldy; or else there would not at all have been parties in the Church and factions in the State. This dimness of idea made the clergy desire that the house of England should be divided against itself,—that there should be two independent powers and governments in the kingdom; the one, a government whose whole soul was to be centred in low, secular, sordid, sublunary affairs; the other, a spiritual and mitred power, which was to be wielded by a divine or apostolic right residing in the bishops and archbishops of an episcopal sect or party.

The Act by which the High Commission Court was abolished (13 Car. II. c. 12), although it declares that nothing therein contained 'shall abridge or diminish the King's supremacy,' yet directly denies the national Church, by imposing a test-oath on all

* *Notes, Theological and Political*, p. 213.

† See Tindal's *Rights of a Christian Church*, p. liii.

who held civil or military offices; the holder of the office had to *swear that he was a member of the Church of England.* If an oath were necessary at all, why should not the holder of the office simply swear that he acknowledged the King's supremacy? If the idea of the national Church had not been lost, an oath to the effect that he was a member of that Church would have been as absurd an oath for an Englishman to take, as for any man to swear that he was a human creature. The old Acts of Uniformity were very different things; for the Acts of Uniformity did not prescribe any doctrines or force men to hold certain opinions or dogmas. The object of them was just; they were, indeed, unavoidable. As the nation had provided churches to worship in, and clergy to officiate and preach in them, it was necessary for the nation to determine what doctrines should be preached, what ceremonies should be used, and what tenets should be taught and disseminated. The subscription to the Articles was required, in order that those clergy only who entertained that belief, which the nation held to be the true one, should receive the stipends and emoluments and places of trust which the nation provided. By these Acts of Uniformity no doctrines were enforced, no consciences were constrained.

As soon as James II., of inglorious memory, had come to the throne, he promulgated a 'declaration of indulgence,' dated April 4, 1687. It proclaimed a general 'liberty of conscience' to all his subjects without exception. There was a most nefarious

design concealed under these smooth professions. Pretty words should never be accepted in haste; thorns are concealed beneath the rosy leaves. This 'declaration of indulgence,' this 'liberty of conscience,' was (1), in the first place, a denial of the idea of a national Church; for it assumed that men who dissented in opinion (which is really a matter of no great moment) were therefore not members of the national Church. It started with the hypothesis that they had to be 'tolerated' by an express act of the State before their presence, within the confines of the nation, could possibly be endured. This was not all; for (2) this 'declaration of indulgence' was merely part of a scheme to restore the Roman Church in England. Dr. Döllinger, a Roman Catholic divine, allows this to escape him.* James's secret design was surreptitiously to introduce Popery into this land. For no other object did he favour Nonconformists. Thanks to the astuteness and loyalty of the Nonconformists, however, the King was unsuccessful in his attempt to gull and delude them into crushing the National Church.† James, however, when ultramontanism was in question, could not be so quickly foiled. On April 27, 1688, he renewed his declaration. That there might be no mistake this time, he ordered it to be read in all the churches. But eighteen bishops were inexorable and refractory; they could not be broken, either by threats or by cajolery. They held it to be

* *Church and Churches*, p. 116.

† Marsden, *Dict. of Christian Sects*, p. 291.

contrary to the established and constituted laws of the nation, and would by no means comply. Hence the famous trial of the seven bishops; nay, not the trial of bishops, but the trial of strength between James and the National Church. In six months the verdict was given. The King of kings was seated on his throne, and pronounced judgment in the voice of artillery from another shore. William had been invited over by the Earl of Manchester and seven other peers. Their future sovereign came to save them from Popery and ecclesiastical slavery. He came to do that, and he did it; but he did not do much for the poor National Church. This idea was dim and tarnished before. Now, alas! it was corroded and cankered, and was altogether crumbling to pieces. Appearances, however, were still kept up; for, in order to place the Established Church above all the changes and chances incident to everything which depends on vote and suffrage, our ancestors, at the change of dynasty, solemnly bound William III. (and we their posterities, in humble imitation, by the same solemn oath, bind all William's successors) not to consent to any measure which may tend to subvert or destroy the independence of the National Church, nor expose it to the dangerous and blighting influence of any foreign pontiff or potentate, such as the Pope, who had so nearly overwhelmed it. This bond and limitation is imposed by our Constitution upon the King, and through the King on the Parliament. This was done, not because the nation for a moment pre-

tended to decide for the King by taking the place of his reason, or by overruling the dictates of his conscience; not because the nation ventured to judge for him which was the true religion, or to dictate what dogmas should be cherished by him. This would have been presumptuous and bigoted in them; it would now be presumptuous and bigoted in us. Such an act they did not pretend to perpetrate; but, as the Sovereign is the head of State and Church, therefore the nation has the right to impose the terms of the trust. The object of this oath was not, and is not, the articles of a creed, but the welfare of a nation. A National Church our ancestors had determined to have. An *imperium in imperio*, whether from Roman ultramontanism or from American sectarianism, they would not endure.*

So far was all very well. But when once Dutch notions and an Amsterdam religion had seated itself comfortably on the throne, then the form of a National Church was easily forgotten. The year 1689 saw a 'Toleration Act.' A statute of the realm then recognised sectarianism as a political entity—as a something distinct from the National Church. It put all on the platform of opinion.

Yet Queen Anne, in a letter to the Archbishop, dated February 25, 1705, declared her resolution to 'maintain her supremacy, as a fundamental part of the constitution of the Church of England, as by law established.'† I do not know whether she really had

* See Coleridge's *Church and State*, p. 112.

† Wilkin's *Concilia Brit.* iv. 685; Matt. Tindal; Döllinger, p. 117.

the form of a National Church before her eyes; or whether she, like William, regarded the Church as a something or nothing built up of opinions and dogmas. The matter was, however, soon brought to an issue. The old idea of a National Church had to be rummaged for, in the armoury and among the rusty weapons of a bygone time; and had to be furbished up and fitted for use, as well as they could do it. In 1710, Dr. Hoadley (Bishop of Bangor) preached a sermon 'on the duty of resistance to tyrannical governments.' This was done to please the Whigs. He was violently attacked by the Tories and high-church, headed by Dr. Sacheverel, and by Leslie, a non-juror. Dr. Sacheverel was impeached in the House of Commons. The Tories cried out that this was a nefarious scheme, of the Whigs and dissenters combined, to overturn the National Church. Some show of reason they had, indeed. For Dr. Hoadley had said in his sermon, that *the Church required only a spiritual government, and should submit to neither restraints nor assistance from a secular government; that the Church should, in fact, be independent of the kingdoms of this world.* How the ultramontanists must have chuckled! Dr. Hoadley's sermon was brought before Convocation, canvassed, and condemned. For this the Convocation was attacked, abused, and maligned by the press and pamphleteers. Dr. Cannon undertook the defence of the Convocation. He wrote these words, so wonderful for that period:—'The whole frame and constitution of our Church is built upon this *founda-*

tion: That the Church and realm of England is one and the same body, under one and the same head and authority; that every man here is so far considered as a member of that body, both in its civil and Christian capacity and character, as to be subject and liable, not only to civil punishments, but also to ecclesiastical censures. *All recusants of all kinds, though they declare themselves not to be members of the Church of England*, though they were not baptized and should profess infidelity, *are so liable as much as those who join in public communion with us.* It is indeed impossible that there should be a National Church, under any common authority, order, and regulation, upon any other foot.'*

And now the torch must be extinguished which has lit our path. We must give up hunting out the lost thread, or pursuing the attenuated idea of a National Church, throughout the tangled web of confusion and political intricacies and duplicities which involved and perplexed the years of succeeding reigns. What with 'godless colleges,' and Irish 'National Education,' and 'secular systems,' and Maynooth Grants, and *Regium Donums*, and licentious statecraft, and Church Platitudinarians, and political Latitudinarians, there is very little of thought or care left for the form of a National Church. There remains but the wreck of Church property—some at least of that which has been rescued from the general rivalry, strife, scramble, and

* *Vindication of the Proceedings of the Lower House of Convocation*, on May 3rd and 7th, 1717, by Dr. Cannon: London, 1717.

self-seeking of trade for the benefit and amelioration of the nation. Still there is the spire of the national building, which stands over the acre that is not kept for private enjoyment or for selfish luxury; but is reserved for the welfare both of the poor and of the rich equally in the parish. Still there are the Church endowments—the monuments of the ancient piety and godly love of our long-forgotten ancestors; —endowments which insure the continued residence of one whose only object is the good of every person; who is neither so rich as to be above feeling sympathy with the poor, nor so poor as to be obliged either to work for selfish objects or to smile on the vices of the rich. Alas! the sparkling moments spent at the tables of the rich and noble, have too often allured and beguiled them to drain Circean draughts; and they have turned from the hard-hearted love of pleasure, and the selfish grasping of the affluent, to rebuke the murmurings and pardonable discontent of the poor. They never mention the fornications and adulteries of the gay gentlemen and ladies of the world; they too often condemn the poaching and theft of shivering, nipped, and starving labourers. Therefore it is that we hear the Church maligned and abused; because some of the national clergy are deaf to the small, still voice which rings out the words 'Awake, thou that sleepest!' in the events which are happening around us, in the coldness and infidelity which is growing among us, in the attacks on the Church, which yearly vex and weary our Legislatures. This is

the fault of some of the clergy, perchance. It is the fault of the nation still more; for the Church is a National Church. If it were a clergy-church, we might with justice complain of our ecclesiastical superiors. If it were an ultramontane Church, we might vent our indignation against the seven hills. If it were a sect, we might leave it and found another. But it is a National Church. As we make our bed, so we must lie in it. Every man is a member of that Church, and therefore by cursing it, he curses himself. As he is a member of it, and cannot cease to be a member of it, it is his duty to mend matters to the best of his ability. Scorn proves nothing; railing never mended matters. *Laborare est orare:* a wise energy is the best prayer to offer for the Church.

CHAPTER III.

DEDUCTIONS FROM THE HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL CHURCH.

BEFORE passing on to the consideration of the other forms of Church and State, it is necessary to call to mind a few important points with regard to the national form. It has often been asserted that the Church of England is a National Church because it is maintained by the nation. This is a very common error. The Church in England is not supported by votes of money from the State, as the Presbyterians are in Ireland. The endowment of the Church of England consists of property which it has inherited and held for as many centuries as England has been a nation. Her endowments were originally the gifts and donations of certain persons who were prompted by piety or superstition. The Episcopal and Chapter lands were never granted by the State. Tithes were granted by law, it is true. Centuries, however, had passed away since tithes became a prescriptive right. Church-rates are not a property; they are of a different nature. They arise out of the right and power which every parish has, like a free republic, to tax itself, and to impose political duties on its own inhabitants. It is not by

reason of its funds that the Church of England is a National Church; but because the laws of the Church are part and parcel of the law of the land, because they are inextricably interwoven together. Nay, not exactly so; the Church and Church laws are the State and State laws. These are only one edifice, which has not a back and a front, but is beautiful from whichever side you look at it. The Whig system has ever been to divide this building into two—to unweave this precious web of commingling laws. With their 'centralisation' they must of course denationalise the Church; for the National Church is built up of self-government. Thus Bolingbroke wrote: *—'In our political divisions of Whig and Tory, the dissenters have adhered to the former, and they want no apology for doing so. They joined themselves to those with whom they agreed, and stood in opposition to those with whom they differed in *principles of government*.'

The basis of the ecclesiastical edifice is the basis of the political constitution. The identity of Church and State makes an identity of basis. The parish is not more an ecclesiastical than a political institution. The churchwardens are secular officers elected by the parish, to look after everything that is for the common welfare of the parish. They are elected, not as professing some form of religion, but as being parishioners. Dissenters and Roman Catholics, even Jews, have been churchwardens. The whole parish has the power to make a by-law to tax itself, for

* *On Parties*, p. 8.

any object which the parishioners consider to be for the general good. The tax is levied on the parishioners, not as professors of this or that religion, but as possessors of some of the property of the parish. The Judges of the Common Pleas have proclaimed the state of the law to be such, that a distringas may be issued to compel a parish to repair a bridge, or a highway, or a parish church.* Neither King nor Justices can impose such a rate. The Legislature even cannot put a tax on a parish. It can be effected only by the supreme will of the parish; a by-law must be made by the parish. A parish is, in fact, a free republic. England is a federation of republics. This is the basis of our self-government, and of our Church. What the Whigs and Radicals want to do, is to put an end to these republics; by heating them seven times in the glowing furnaces of party elections, and then welding them into one huge lump of crushing despotism. The Act to abolish Church-rates is one of the blows of the welding hammer. If I were a pagan polytheist, my chief deity should be Puck; who, out of pure love for practical joking, delights to make men, in their acts, go violently counter to the principles they profess. How Puck must hold his sides and laugh at Americanising Radicals labouring to destroy the republics of England!

Now, observe the result which must ensue if this purely political power of the parish were abridged.

* See Lords' Committee on *Church Rates*, 1860–61; and Gneist's *Communal-Verfassung England's*; and Toulmin Smith's *The Parish*.

The Church and State, being so intimately entwined, must be equally affected. Vestries would fall into desuetude and be abolished. All that wholesome exercise which is obtained in discussing the affairs of the parish would be at an end. With the fall of the vestries, the security for the influence of the people would be destroyed; the key-stone of the cooperation of the clergy and laity would be taken out. The 'secular' affairs of the parish would be handed over to some central board, or bureaucracy; with its paid presidents and vice-presidents; and its salaried officers; and its supercilious public functionaries; all of them not a bit responsible to the parishioners. In a word, self-government would be exchanged for centralisation, on the 'secular' side of the question. We should have centralisation also in the Church. The ecclesiastical affairs of the parish would fall exclusively into the hands of the clergy. The parishioners would have no vestry, and therefore no voice in them. The cooperation of the clergy and laity would be destroyed in the parish. The association for putting down evil would be dislocated throughout the country. The Church would become a clergy-church, or an *imperium in imperio*; and would either progress to Popery, or else be kicked out as a nuisance. *Absit omen!*

From the foregoing chapter it may be gathered that the ancient form of our Church subsisted in an equally balanced cooperation of clergy and laity, under the supremacy of the King. This Church was continually struggling either with the Roman form of

Ultramontanism, or else with the way of the Sectaries. The National Church rests on the identity of Church and State (or nation). Where there is not an identity, the Church and the State are two independent powers. Where these are two independent powers, (1) the head of the Church may be some Pope in a foreign land. The bishops are then subordinate to that Pope. The Church is an *imperium in imperio*. Yet either (*a*) the State may be predominant, or (*b*) the foreign Church may be predominant; in which latter case a *concordat* becomes necessary to put a limit to the meddling of ecclesiastics. Or (2) the head of the Church, as well as the sovereign of the State, may both reside within the same kingdom. Here also there is an *imperium in imperio*;—there are two independent powers, each claiming its own exclusive sphere of action. In which case also (*a*) a *concordat* or law is necessary, to prevent them from encroaching upon each other's provinces. Or (*b*) the State overrides the Church, and makes the Church its tool to carry out its political purposes. Or else (*c*) the Church overrides the State, and makes it obey its behests.

When the idea of a National Church was well-nigh lost at the Revolution of 1688, the Sectaries were regarded as not of the Church. It was conceded to them that they were an *imperium in imperio*, when they persisted that 'the State has nothing to do with the Church.' Hence the Toleration Act was passed. This was their *concordat*. The case of the High-Church party is somewhat similar. They seek

to be a clergy-church, or *imperium in imperio.* Priests, from a desire to vaunt themselves, assume that the ceremonial acts which they perform are the essence of religion; that religion is, in fact, their business, while secular duties are the business of others. This amounts to an assertion that the State and Religion have nothing to say to each other. Thus they separate religion from every-day life. The clergy then come to be regarded as 'the Church,' while the people become mere passive recipients. Thus, when the Church and State come to have each its separate sphere tacitly assigned to it, the 'salt loses its savour;' it does not 'salt' the acts of every-day life, and destroy their corruptible nature. Religion is put aside from the week, and retained only for Sundays and ceremonies.

Let us regard this from another point of view. When the clergy have the whole administration of the Church in their hands, and refuse to the laity an equal share and cooperation, then all the evils incidental to priestcraft are immediately brought in. There arises an indifference on the part of the laity to the Church for which their forefathers had bled and suffered; coldness in matters of religion, and worldliness in their aims and objects, take the place of godliness; deception in dealings and adulterations in trade drive out the primitive simplicity and honesty of character. No one ever cares for a system in which he is entirely passive, and merely under the drill of others, however excellent those others may be in themselves. Thus religion becomes like our best

coat, donned for show on Sunday, but carefully laid past during the week; and the State is said to have 'nothing to do with religion.' The source is the same, and the result is the same, whether we deny the identity of Church and State by saying that 'the State has nothing to do with religion, but is merely to protect persons and property;' or by saying that the clergy are distinct from the laity, and that the laity must not meddle in Church affairs, nor cooperate with the clergy; or by distinguishing between secular and spiritual matters; or by maintaining an independent power in the nation. This Dr. Arnold laboured to inculcate. These are his words:* 'With the notion of a perfect Church two things are utterly inconsistent: first, the destroying of the principle of cooperation through the varied talents and habits of the several members of the society, and substituting in the place of it a system in which a very few should be active, and the great mass passive; . . . . secondly, the taking of any part or parts of human life out of its control, by a pretended distinction between spiritual things and secular; a distinction utterly without foundation. . . . This division (of spiritual things from secular) *rests entirely on principles of heathenism*, and tends to make Christianity like the religions of the Old World; not a sovereign *discipline* for every part and act of life, but a system for communicating certain abstract truths, and for the performance of certain visible rites and ceremonies.' And again: 'The State, in a Christian country, is the Church, and

* *The Church*, p. 12.

therefore has much to do with religion. . . . The contrary opinion has arisen very much out of the false and degrading notions of civil society which have prevailed in the last century. Society has been regarded as a mere collection of individuals, looking each after his own interest; and the business of government has been limited to that of a mere police, whose sole use is to hinder these individuals from robbing, or knocking each other down. . . . The doctrine of the king's supremacy denies firmly the notion that the State has only to look after men's bodies and goods; it declares the identity of the Church and the State.' Thus the denial of the National Church cuts both ways. The Church is degraded into a mere system of ritual; and the State is demoralised, or loses its moral character, by being made merely a contrivance for man's physical welfare. It gives birth to superstition on the one hand, and to grovelling worldliness on the other. Whenever the identity of Church and State is denied, they must be regarded as two coexistent, but distinct and independent powers. The one is supposed to be cognisant of spiritual matters only; the other must not extend beyond secular affairs. From these premises such a reasoning as this must be drawn: 'The State may not interfere with religion, nor even with moral subjects; for moral subjects cannot be deemed secular. The State may not, therefore, do more than protect our persons and property. It is reduced to the level of a constable. But the Church is conversant with those higher subjects to which the State may not aspire.

What, then, must the Church be? Of course it must be something which excludes the State; for otherwise the State would be cognisant of both kinds, while the Church would have to do with only one. The idea of the Church must, therefore, utterly exclude the idea of the State (or nation). But if the Church is really something distinct from the State, it follows that the clergy are separate from the laity; and that it is the former (the body of the clergy) which has the charge of the higher matters, while the laity deal merely with secular affairs. It results, then, from this, that religion must be something which is dispensed and doled out by the clergy on Sundays and feast-days; while the laity, on week-days and in market-places, or on the forum, deal with their matters in a spirit of worldliness, and even of duplicity.' Such is the chain of errors which follows, logically enough, if we only lay hold of the first error, by denying the essential identity of Church and State. This reasoning has actually, at different ages of the world, been built up on that false postulate. We shall meet with its effects in the Auchterarder and Cardross cases.

It cannot be that any statesman ever actually proposed that there should, in future, be two supreme powers in a nation—or, indeed, any power independent of the law of the land, and of the sovereign as the exponent and administrator of that law. Such a notion would immediately involve him in many absurdities — as Stillingfleet well remarks in his 'Irenicum.' Nor yet do I believe that any ambitious Churchman could have devised such a theory to en-

able him to accomplish his designs; or that he could find any laity who were such fools as to accept the doctrine from his mouth. The argument must have been invented, *ex post facto*, to defend an existing practice; and then strenuously maintained, because the practice was likely to forward the ambitious views of prelates. I can imagine a good but fainthearted divine exclaiming, 'What have Churchmen to do with politics, for politics are nothing but faction at home and piracy abroad? What have we to do with politics, when the soul of politics is expediency, and the death of politics is law and right? We have nothing to do with such practices, except to denounce them.' And when politicians found themselves denounced, they would turn round and tell the ecclesiastics to apply themselves only to their sacred books and ceremonies; for what had monks to do with politics and secular affairs? Thus the State became a marauder, and the Church became a chanter of masses and sprinkler of holy water. The clergy, then, seeing that the things which they dealt with were called spiritual and divine, argued that they must necessarily be above the State; and the State, being put on the level of a policeman, considered that its only weapons were violence or guile. Thus does a nation become debased into a den of bandits abroad, and 'Greeks' upon the market-place; and its clergy, by setting themselves up, and assuming to themselves powers which they have no right to claim, 'divide the kingdom against itself,' and become nothing but public enemies. For to set up an independent power in a

kingdom, besides the king, is to divide the kingdom against itself.

These two independent powers can, however, never be made so distinct that they shall not clash; their respective spheres and provinces cannot ever be so defined that they shall not interfere with each other; for men's actions and relations are so mixed and overlap so much that they cannot be classed. Though one power be called 'civil' and the other be styled 'ecclesiastical' or 'spiritual,' yet they must necessarily come in collision and thwart each other continually. Thus Barrow:* —'It is, indeed, impossible that a coordination of these powers [temporal and spiritual] should subsist, for each will be continually encroaching on the other—each for its own defence and support will continually be struggling and clambering to get above the other; there will never be any quiet till one come to subside and truckle under the other, whereby the sovereignty of the one or the other will be destroyed.' And Padre Paolo:†—'This opinion [of two independent powers] makes a monster of Government, and the absurdity will not be declined in saying they are coordinate, and linked together by mutual helps as so many bonds, ... so that those powers cannot be linked together by any bonds or ties, unless one of the two be wholly and in all things subject to the other.' This 'opinion' of an

* *Supremacy of the Pope*, p. 213.

† Letter 123. See Matthew Tindal's *Rights of the Christian Church*, p. 310.

imperium in imperio could never have been a doctrine, and still less a practice, of early Christianity. For the Roman and Byzantine Emperors would never have stood it. Moreover, some of the numerous enemies of Christianity would not have lost the opportunity of wielding against the Christians so great an argument as this would have afforded. Thereupon a controversy would have ensued, of which we should have heard somewhat. For a Tertullian or a Nanzianzen would have written a voluminous apology, defence, and exposition of the theory, which would have been preserved till our times.

Nor yet was it held by the Reformed Churches. Grotius, for instance, in speaking of the establishment of the reformed religion by the States of Holland, says:—'Quippe, non in hoc tantum ordinatas a Deo Civitates ac Magistratus dictantes ut a Corporibus et Possessionibus injuriæ abessent, sed ut quo more ipse jussisset, eo, in commune coleretur; cujus officii negligentes, multos, pœnam aliorum impietati debitam, in se arcessisse.'

Truly such a notion is not only refuted by common sense, and branded with a Q. E. A. by every right-thinking man, but has been stigmatised plainly enough by history. Thus Du Moulin, the Professor of History at Oxford during the civil wars, testifies, 'that, for the most part, the causes of heresies and wars which have troubled the world, came from the Popes dividing the said actions, vindicating to themselves the regulating of one part of them, leaving

the ordering of the other to the Emperor and Kings, and thus erecting *imperium in imperio.*'* And Lord Clarendon: † — 'That unreasonable, inconvenient, and mischievous distinction of ecclesiastical and temporal, as it exempts things and persons from the civil justice and the sovereign authority, and as it erects another tribunal and sets up another distinct sovereign jurisdiction superior and independent on the other, has cost the Christian world very dear in treasure and in blood, and has almost heaved the Government (which ought to preserve the peace and order of Christendom) off its hinges.' Even such a man as Nye, although he could not foresee, did at least feel the evil of such a practice. For when Presbyterianism had been established by the Assembly of Divines, Nye protested against the ecclesiastical tyranny which he asserted must thereby be engendered. He said that 'it is inconvenient to nourish such a vast body in a commonwealth; it is not to be endured.' Men are already troubled to think whether a presbytery shall be set up *jure divino*, and no wonder; for, if it be, it will grow so as to become as big as the civil power.' ‡ The City of London also, at that time, entertained serious alarms, on that account, for the cause of civil liberty. As soon as an intention had been mentioned to set up spiritual courts with supreme authority, by divine right, the City came to a decision with the rapidity

* Du Moulin's *Power of the Christian Magistrate*, p. 4.

† Lord Clarendon's *Animadversions upon Cressy's Fanaticism fanatically imputed to the Catholic Church*, p. 130.

‡ Marsden, *Dict. of Christian Sects*, p. 498.

of an instinct, and utterly rejected the dangerous notion. These arguments against an *imperium in imperio* are as applicable against the two ultramontane forms of churches as against the way of the sectaries,—in so far as every State except Russia and Rome themselves are concerned. Those two States contain the seat of the Church power. In every other State each of those Churches is an *imperium in imperio.*

CHAPTER IV.

THE EASTERN AND WESTERN CHURCHES.

IN the Roman Form of Church and State the ecclesiastical power is overwhelming, while the temporal power is utterly insignificant. The Church and State are not identical. Both are, however, lodged in the same hands; and the State is no more than a pabulum for the Church. The Pope has no battalions to fight the battles of the Church. His campaigns are carried on by intellectual means—by speaking astute and cunning words; by engendering vague opinions; by contriving nets; by spreading reports which injure and weaken this statesman, and raise another to unmerited power. In the Russian Church, on the other hand, the temporal authority is all in all; while the ecclesiastial yields all its power and influence to subserve the projects of the chief of the State. For, although the Church and Nation are distinct, yet they both are lodged in the hands of the Tzar; so that his ambition is unrebuked, his power uncontrolled. He is even regarded as the vicar and substitute of God. He is looked upon as the very source and fountain of right and law upon earth. The priests of the Russian Church are the Tzar's minions; salaried out

of his public treasury; enjoying a livelihood dependent upon their good behaviour, or rather, subserviency. The missionaries of the Russian Church are but chosen agents of the Tzar, paid emissaries of the Russian Cabinet, sent abroad to suggest discontent and breed rebellion. The synod of the Russian Church is presided over by a jack-booted general, armed with an unlimited veto and full power of prorogation. Of course such a Church is but a tool to assist political objects, to give a colour of right to political intrigue, to stir up religious enthusiasm in favour of acts of piracy and unlawful war.

Let us turn our attention for a moment to the history of this Church. It was an equal lust of power, on both sides, which caused the Eastern and Western Churches at first to separate. It was that lust of power which is the soul of ultramontanism in both Churches. It is true that certain theological debates served as a pretext for the animosity, and embittered the strife; the dispute about Easter in the days of Victor; the Monothelite controversy in the seventh, and the Iconoclast controversy in the eighth century. At the death of Leo III. the separation was complete; the Pope (Gregory) finally renounced his allegiance to the Byzantine Emperor, and turned for assistance to the Franks.* The patriarchs of the Eastern, or Greek Church, used to reside in Constantinople, under the eye of the

* During the seventh century, it is true, the Emperors of Constantinople regained some of their lost power over Rome. From A. D. 685 until Gregory II. in 716, five Popes out of seven were Greek (Syrian).

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Emperor; and were, therefore, not so favourably placed, as were those in Rome, for acquiring a power independent of the State. In the thirteenth century, however, the Eastern clergy were very strong. The Tartar invasion increased their power; for the Tartars (says Ségur) favoured the clergy for the sake of their influence over the people. Dread of Tartar intolerance, however, on the other hand, made the Greek clergy turn to the 'Grand Prince,' as the only defence both against Mahommedanism and against the Latin Church. This policy obtained from 1300 to 1320. For the Supreme Pontiff of the Russian Church (who had previously resided at Kiev) had removed to Moscow; *and a strict alliance had been concluded between him and the head of the State.* As, moreover, the anathemas of the clergy had very few terrors for the barbarians in Russia, the clergy sought to terrify them into obedience by the temporal sword. With this object in view, they were induced to employ every means for enlarging, as much as possible, the power of their patrons, the Grand Princes. The Grand Princes thus, by degrees, obtained a predominant power over the Church. This they soon ventured to exercise in deposing the primates who displeased or thwarted them. At a synod in the time of Alexis (the father of Peter the Great), this power was solemnly recognised as a right inherent in the chief of the State. Ségur accounts for the enduring subjection of the Russian Church to the temporal authority, by asserting that 'such had always been the spirit of the Greek religion; that, from the time of

the Pagan emperors, the Russians had always regarded their princes as 'the vicars of God upon earth;'* that Vladimir, 'taking his religion from Byzantium, became the head of it; and thus, to his civil and military power, added the theocratic power, one of the deepest roots of the autocracy of his descendants; while Miciezlas (of Poland), by yielding to the Pope, was, in the eyes of those over whom he ruled, nothing more than the subject, not merely of an ultramontane bishop, but of all his own subjects who might happen to be priests' (p. 201). The result of this was (says Ségur, p. 188), that 'in Russia, obedience to the offspring of Rurik, to the Princes of the blood of St. Vladimir, was a religion almost as powerful as that of Christ.'

In the fifteenth century the Greek Church was divided into four great provinces, viz., that of Constantinople (which extended over Russia), and those of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. Towards the end of the next century, however, the Russian Church separated from the Patriarchate of Constantinople. In 1588 (says Ségur, p. 186), two Greek bishops haggled and bargained with the Grand Vizier for the Pontificate of Byzantium. One of them procured the assistance of gold from Feodore, the last of the Ruriks, and thereby obtained the patriarchate. In return, he gave up to Feodore the independence of the Russian Church. The next year a Russian patriarchate was erected in Moscow. This was the occasion of a contest between the Greek clergy in Russia, and the

* *History of Russia*, p. 187.

Russian Government. For the clergy desired to maintain unbroken the dependence on Constantinople; while the Government desired to have a separate Church of its own in Russia. For Mahmoud II. had endeavoured to acquire a power over Russia through the Greek Church, whose patriarch resided at Constantinople. And Ivan III. had sought to transfer the patriarchate to Russia, in order, by degrees, to get the whole Byzantine empire into his hands.

In 1689, Peter the Great came to the throne. He soon perceived that the Government was pieced and divided between him and the Church; that the clergy were an *imperium in imperio*. This independent authority he, of course, could not brook. The people already regarded their spiritual head as another monarch equal to himself. As religion spread, and men became superstitious, the people would 'think more of the chief pastor than of the chief ruler,' said Peter. The Patriarch of the Russian Church at that time was Adrian. As soon as Adrian died, the bishops met together in solemn conclave to elect his successor. Peter entered abruptly and broke up the assembly, exclaiming, as he smote on his breast, 'Here you have your patriarch!' Ségur records the above fact; and continues in these words (p. 272):—

'To Catholic eyes this may appear a surprising stroke of authority; but it will seem less astonishing when we call to mind that the Russian Grand-Princes were the founders, apostles, saints, and martyrs of the Greek religion in Russia; that, consequently, they were looked upon as the heads of a religion, founded,

preserved, and sanctified by them; and, still more than this, that, in their gross ignorance, these people, brutified as they were by all kinds of slavery, paid an almost equal veneration to God and to the Tzar.'

To wean over the clergy, Peter resorted to a half measure and to delay. He appointed Stephen Gavoniski to manage the affairs of the Church; and desisted for twenty years from proclaiming himself as Patriarch. Since then the Tzar presides by deputy over every synod of the Church. The deputy is called Procurator. None of the acts of the synod are valid without the approval and signature of this creature of the Tzar's. The Tzar appoints and dismisses the Church officers as he likes. It exists only at his will, and must at all times do his bidding. The Tzar is a Nebuchadnezzar ('no God but the Tzar') to the Russian Church; and of course the Church delights to do his bidding as long as the army remains faithful.

Peter appropriated most of the Church property; and in 1764 Catharine took all the rest. The Church is therefore a mere tool, without hope of redemption. Dr. Döllinger says:*—'The Church of Russia is more completely in the power of the monarch than any other religious community in the Christian world. It is wanting, to a degree of which there is scarcely another example in Christian history, in every capacity of free action. There are no councils, no conferences of the clergy, no co-operation of the clergy and their parishioners.' And again:—'The

* *Church and the Churches*, p. 134.

power of the Emperor, according to their [Russian] Catechism, comes immediately from God; the veneration due to him must be expressed by the most complete submission in words, bearing, and actions; the obedience must in every respect be unlimited and passive.'

Dr. Döllinger, being a Roman Catholic, is of course a bitter enemy of Russia. His testimony may therefore be weakened through the suspicion that he was influenced, in writing this, by the great animosity which subsists between the Eastern and Western Churches. I must therefore support it by a corroborating quotation from Marsden: *—'The Tzar is represented in the Catechisms taught to all the children of his empire, as God's viceregent. Under this title he claims absolute submission, his designs assume a sacred character, and the subject who shall dare to thwart him is regarded as accursed both in this world and the next. . . . . All the ecclesiastics swear fidelity to the Emperor—fidelity in the military sense.' Every Russian is bound to confess once a year at the least; and he must take out a certificate to prove that he has fulfilled this duty. Without this he loses his civil rights. The object of this ordinance is obvious. It is the same as the object of the Roman confessional. For the priest has to report to the Russian Government anything he hears in the confessional which may possibly have any political significance.

It must not be supposed, however, that there is

* *Dictionary of the Christian Churches and Sects*, p. 714.

a complete and solid unity in the Russian Church. There are Dissenters. These are called *Rashkolniks* by the Russians (a name which means 'apostates' or 'seditious factions'). * They call themselves, however, *Starovirtsi*, or 'believers in the old faith.' They represent the Russian Church before the time of Peter; that is to say, they protest against the dominion of the Tzar over the Church; they protest against his assumed divinity, and regard him as Antichrist; they protest against the independence and separation of the Russian Church from the Patriarchate of Constantinople. This fact will have very great significance for us when we come to the Chapter on the Conflicts of the Churches. This sect, or sects, consists of 13,000,000.†

The struggle between the Starovirtsi and the Russian Church is shaking the very foundations of Russian power. It is a most powerful and obdurate *imperium in imperio*. The Russian Church looks to the Tzar—the Starovirtsi look to the Sultan as their head. All of the Greek Church who are not comprised in the Russian Church still acknowledge the Sultan as supreme judge in ecclesiastical matters; and hence the bitterness between Russia and Turkey, and the friendship between Rome and Turkey. In proof of this I cite a fact mentioned by Dr. Döllinger: ‡ — 'The Greek Synod, in answer to the letter of Pius IX. in 1848, wrote

* See Robert Pinkerton's *State of the Greek Church in Russia*: New York, 1815.

† Dr. Döllinger.

‡ Dr. Döllinger, *Church and Churches*, p. 126.

thus:—"In disputed or difficult questions the three Patriarchs [Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem] discuss the matter with the Patriarch of Constantinople, because that city is the seat of empire, and because he is the President of the Synod. If they cannot agree, the affair is, according to ancient precedent and usage, referred for decision to the head of the [Turkish] Government."' The Georgians do the same. Malo-Russia, from which Russia draws her best cavalry, is in a great measure Starovirtsi. This is, however, trenching upon the subject of a subsequent chapter.*

The Russian Church is that which approaches

* Before travelling West, to the Roman Church, I must, in anticipation of the Chapter on the Conflicts of Churches, allude very succinctly to two other Churches. Buddhism, consisting of 300,000,000, and Mahommedanism, have also passed beyond the boundaries of the State to which they belong. They are ultramontane. With Buddhism I shall not trouble the reader. For, although the laity are mere spectators of the ceremonies which the clergy perform, yet, as the clergy pass their time entirely in contemplation, they are scarcely an *imperium in imperio*, and cannot be of any account in the State.

'The vital principle of Mahommedanism is submission to an absolute will; and the aim of Mahommedanism is, or was, to put down idolatry and falsehood. There is no hierarchy—no priesthood. The head of each family is the priest in his family. The Ulemas are not priests; they form a sort of sacred college, which expounds the law, judges the acts of the head of the State, and determines the right to declare war. Yet it must not be supposed that the Sultan has, therefore, no religious authority. Quite the contrary. Such authority is much greater where every man is a priest, and is punctilious in the performance of his religious duties; and where the Sultan is chief priest, Imaum, the Successor of the Prophet. He is representative of a great creed. He is the religious head of the Sunnite half of Mahommedanism. He is now, what the Kaliph used to be, to all the Turks. The Persians are Shiites, and regard the Shah as their head. But the Shiites are confined to Persia exclusively. The Arabs are Sunnites, and look to the Sultan. Morocco is also Sunnite. The Sultan may therefore be regarded as the representative power of Islamism.'—Latham's *Nationalities*, ii. p. 3.

nearest to the form of a National Church. The Roman Church is more widely different. A National Church is independent of individual opinions. The Roman Church stands entirely upon doctrine. From its doctrine its system springs. This was logically and clearly stated by Sir G. Bowyer on June 9, 1863. Grant his first premiss, and the conclusion is inevitable. He asserted that the Roman Catholic Church is a body sent forth to teach; that is to say, its essential character is, that it rests upon dogma, which it is its function to spread. If the Church is a body sent forth to teach, then it must boldly and authoritatively proclaim, 'This is the truth, you must receive it; if you do not believe it, you are in error, and must be cast out as a heretic.' Any intolerance might be based on this theory; any amount of physical force might be resorted to if this principle be accepted; the tortures of an inquisition, or the fires of Smithfield, might justly be called in aid, to make men accept the Churchmen's opinions of what is truth. Moreover, the Church being considered as a teaching body, it is clear that it must be a clergy-Church. The teachers are the clergy; and, as the Church consists of teachers, it is entirely a clergy-Church. This, again, is in opposition to a National Church; which embraces all on an equality, both teachers and taught, pastors and flock, clergy and laity. Hence, while it is inconsistent with the idea of a National Church to cast out those who dissent, that is to say, those who differ in opinion from us, and do not believe exactly what we believe;

so also, on the other hand, it is inconsistent with the definition of the Roman Church not to endeavour by every means, whether of force or of persecution, to rescue men from error and bring them to the truth. But, lest I might be guilty of doing violence to Sir George Bowyer's statement, I will quote his words: — 'His idea of Catholic was, not the comprehension of every sort of error; but that the Catholic Church was a Church that taught one truth, and said to the people, "If you do not believe in this truth, you are wrong." . . . . This was the only honest course to say, "I preach the truth," and eject those who do not believe with you.' This being the foundation of the Roman Church, of course they must be always endeavouring to impose on all nations a uniformity, which they miscall unity. Of course this clergy-Church must assume that the 'power of the keys' has been confided to them alone; of course they must hold that, except by entrance into their Church, (that is to say, by embracing their dogmas,) no man can be saved from an eternal punishment, which awaits all other men and nations. Here, too, they differ widely from the idea of a National Church. For the aim of a National Church is to make men better citizens—to save them from their evil passions and their grovelling tendencies. It does not pretend to hand to its members a passport which will induce Peter to admit them through the gates of heaven.

Again: as this clergy-Church consists of the body of teachers for the whole world, of course the clergy

must be supposed to have some peculiar virtue, some uncommon sanctity, some extraordinary inspiration, to which no professors of human learning can pretend to aspire; but which is communicated, by the laying on of episcopal hands, to the humblest, the meanest, the stupidest of these spiritual guides. If it were not for this, how could they pretend to teach learned lay professors? If it were not for some infallibility, would they not be merely blind leaders of a blinder people? Of course they must claim infallibility. But, being infallible, they must surely regard themselves as the best guides in mundane matters also. They must be, in their own eyes, the best masters of secular politics. For, even if this vaunted infallibility refuses to travel beyond the confines of the mystic spiritual realm, yet who can exactly draw a line of demarcation between what is spiritual and what is secular? Nay, these spiritual guides must be the best guides for emperors and kings and the cabinets of statesmen. And further, if they be really the best guides, then of course it is only reasonable that even kings should yield them implicit obedience. Much more should others submit their wills in silence.

All these notions must grow, in theory at least, out of that one point of difference between them and us. Nay; that this has been proved by facts also, that these notions have really grown out of that one little root, has been scored up by history in great letters of blood upon the ramparts of every city in Europe. How have they laboured and fought to weld all

nations into one mass! How have kings become their tools, armies their mercenaries, nations their tributaries, to aid them in breaking down the barriers of nations, and in causing kingdoms and peoples, and tongues and tribes, to bow down to the image of universal power which Hildebrand set up! This was a wonderful effort at 'spiritual' centralisation—a huge machine directed against all self-government, a great organised hierarchy framed to rule the world from the seven hills. Let us appeal to history. In England, the Church used to be governed by its bishops and metropolitans; the affairs of each diocese being managed by the bishop or by a synod of his calling; the affairs of a province by the metropolitan or by a provincial synod. From a diocesan synod there was an appeal to a provincial, and from a provincial to a national synod, and from thence to the King. But there never used to be an appeal to the Bishop of Rome—never any last resort out of the nation, until this abuse was introduced by the Popes. This intrusion was effected, and decretals for that purpose were enacted in 1230 (Gregory IX.). Further decrees were passed by Boniface and others until Sixtus IV. in 1480. Thus the canon law was, by an external authority, imposed on England and on other countries to the destruction of all their self-government.*

The Popes were, at first, themselves merely subjects of the Emperors of Rome. Then they were equally under the Ostrogoth kings of Italy. Subsequently

* See Carleton, p. 177.

they submitted to the jurisdiction of the Eastern emperors. Until the days of Hildebrand, it was the emperor who made the Pope; no Pope, at least, was ever chosen without the emperor's consent. Thus Mosheim:* 'Supreme power over the whole sacred order, and over all the possessions of the Churches, was, both in the East and in the West, vested in the emperors and kings. Of the power of the Greek emperors over the Church, and its goods and possessions, no one entertains a doubt. The prerogatives of the Latin emperors and kings, though the flatterers of the Popes labour to conceal them, are too manifest and clear to be concealed.' In fact, the Pope was at first merely a bishop of the Church at Rome; no more. After some time, and much quarrelling, the Church of Rome took precedence of the Church of Alexandria, and of the Church of Jerusalem, and of other Churches. It was after this success that the Pope began a struggle to raise himself up over kingdoms and empires, as 'head of the universal [Catholic] Church.' That struggle has lasted to this day. Leslie† makes the following quotation from Du Pin:—'The learned Du Pin says, in his "Traité de la Puissance Ecclésiastique" (p. 551), "It is true that, at present, the name of *the Church of Rome* is given to the Catholic Church, and that these two terms pass for synonymous. But in antiquity, no more was intended by the name of the Church of Rome than the Church of the city of Rome; and the Popes, in their subscriptions, or superscriptions, took simply the

* Vol. ii. p. 137. † *Case stated*, 1714, p. 21.

quality of bishops of Rome. 'The Greek schismatic seems to be the first who gave the name of the Church of Rome to all the Churches of the West; whence the Latins made use of this to distinguish the Churches which communicated with the Church of Rome, from the Greeks, who were separated from her communion. From this came the custom to give the name of the Church of Rome to the Catholic Church. But the other Churches did not, for this, lose their name or their authority." Then he goes on to vindicate the rights of every National Church, independent of the Church of Rome, and past her power to control or alter.'

The bishops of Rome progressed by cautious steps; they sought to advance their power, at first, merely by imposing ceremonies upon other Churches, under the name of establishing unity of worship. They really aimed at uniformity, or centralisation. Thus, Anicetus contended about the celebration of Easter. Victor excommunicated some Eastern Churches for not observing Easter exactly in the way that he chose to prescribe. For this Victor received sharp reproof from at least two other bishops (viz. Polycrates of Lyons and Irenæus of Ephesus), on the ground that he 'preferred uniformity to the peace of the Churches.'* The Popes, in their attempts to gain power, still carefully limited themselves to the sphere of 'spiritual' things—to strictly ecclesiastical matters, to rites and ceremonies. As yet they did not step beyond, and meddle with

* See Eusebius, lib. iv. cap. xxiv.; Carleton, p. 54.

'secular' men and affairs. They interfered merely with bishops and their Churches, and sought to establish a jurisdiction over them. Thus, at the Council of Carthage, A.D. 420, the Bishop of Rome claimed a jurisdiction over the African Church. This arrogant claim was repudiated by the Council. It was urged again by three successive Popes, whose pertinacity, at last, obtained success. A similar jurisdiction was then speedily established over Ravenna, Milan, and other places. In the time of Gregory I. (Bishop of Rome), John, Bishop of Constantinople, set up rival claims to the title of Universal Bishop. And Gregory, in 587 A.D., wrote * to the emperor, complaining of such an unwarrantable assumption on the part of a bishop of an Eastern Church, and proving that *no* bishop had any right to a universal preeminence; and that he 'who usurps that place above his brethren is Antichrist.' † Boniface III., however, managed to persuade the Emperor Phocas to grant him that title. Thus the Pope of Rome became in name the bishop of all bishops; and the Church at Rome was raised up to be the mistress of all Churches. This was in 606 A.D. He was the 66th bishop of Rome.

This independent power of the Roman Church, in 'spiritual' matters, having been acquired, it was now full time to invade the sphere of secular affairs. Gregory II. had, at the first, acknowledged the Emperor Leo Isaurus to be the head of the Christian Church.‡ The emperor had, however, a very weak

* Mosheim, ii. 17. † See Carleton, p. 79.

‡ Barrow, *On the Supremacy of the Pope*, p. 17.

hold on the West. But he had still some jurisdiction in Italy; for his exarch resided at Ravenna. In 726 the Pope obtained the help of the Lombards, and extinguished these smoking embers of his power. He then became jealous of the power of the Lombards, and called in Pepin, the Constable of France, to repress them; thus he forced Astulphus the king to accept his conditions of peace. For this service Chilperic, King of France, was deposed, and Pepin put in his place. Charlemagne afterwards performed a similar service, and was rewarded (A.D. 800) by being called Emperor of the West, and having the ancient authority and jurisdiction of the empire restored to him. Thereupon, Charlemagne brought together a number of prelates, and held a synod with Pope Hadrian to determine what 'the ancient authority and jurisdiction of the empire' was. This synod confirmed to the emperor the power to choose the bishops of Rome, and to invest all bishops and archbishops within his empire; to call councils, and to confirm their edicts.

For some time the emperors clung to their right of supremacy over Rome, as well as over the Roman pontiff. In France and Germany there were even some bishops who carefully guarded themselves against permitting the Bishop of Rome to arrogate to himself sole legislative authority.* In the eleventh century, however, Leo IX. contrived to wield a vastly augmented power; and his claims of jurisdiction were now unbounded. They were of seven kinds: (1) He claimed

* Mosheim, ii. 265.

entire authority over all bishops. (2) The same authority over councils. (3) The power of investiture in all countries. (4) Exemption of the clergy from all civil courts and from the laws of the State. (5) Legislative power over every country [canon laws]. (6) Right of hearing and deciding appeals from the decisions of kings. (7) Power to dethrone kings by his fiat. In A.D. 1111, these claims were so warmly asserted, and demanded such violent resistance to withstand them, that the Emperor Henry V. had to invade Rome and imprison the Pope. The same remedy had again to be applied in 1116; and in 1118 the Emperor tried a complete purgation, and made a new Pope of his own.* The evil, however, grew worse. For in the thirteenth century, according to Mosheim,† 'the Latin pontiffs perseveringly urged, and with violence, with menaces, and frauds, and force of arms, that *fundamental* principle of the papal canon law, that the Roman pontiff is the sovereign lord of the whole world; and that all other rulers in Church and State have so much power and authority as he sees fit to allow them to have. . . . Such of the kings and the princes as were not blinded by superstition, restrained the pontiffs from intermeddling with worldly or civil affairs, and bade them to be contented with the regulation of things sacred; they maintained their power to the utmost of their ability, and even claimed for themselves supremacy over the Church in their respective territories. . . . But most of all by the kings of France and England, who issued their complaints,

* Mosheim, ii. 418. † *Ibid.* p. 505.

their edicts, and their laws, on the subject. In particular, Lewis IX. or St. Louis, King of France in the year 1268, before he embarked in his crusade, published the famous ordinance, called by the French the *Pragmatic Sanction*, by which he carefully secured the rights of the Gallican Church against the machinations of the Pontiffs.'

In 1294, Pope Boniface VIII.* promulgated a canon, in which he declared that *every human creature* must be subject to the Pope; and asserted his jurisdiction over *all temporal authorities*, saying, 'one sword must be under another, and the temporal authority must be subject to the spiritual power.'†

The Emperor Ludovicus observed the great encroachments which were being made by the Pope on the temporal jurisdictions of kings, and on the ecclesiastical jurisdictions of their Churches. He knew that the Pope ought to be ruled, *in temporalibus*, by the Emperor; and be subject, in ecclesiastical matters, to the Church. This Emperor therefore summoned a General Council, which met at Franckfort in 1338. To it he appealed against the Pope. The Council fully supported the Emperor.

* Pope Boniface VIII. wrote to King Philip the Fair of France in these words: 'We will have you to understand, that you are subject to us, both in spiritual and temporal affairs. No collation of benefices or prebends belongeth to you . . . . and who thinks otherwise we repute *Heretics*.'

To which King Philip answered: 'Your singular foolship may understand, that, in temporal affairs, we are subject to none; that the collation of churches and prebends pertaineth to us by royal prerogative . . . . and who thinks otherwise we take for madmen.' — *Controversial Letters*, 1673, p. 14; Carleton's *Jurisdiction*, p. 226.

† Barrow, *On the Supremacy of the Pope*, p. 8.

The Pope had, therefore, to invent new and more efficient means for attaining his ends. These were the new orders of friars; which were wholly at the direction of the Pope, and were devoted to his designs. They were * 'resolute and desperate ministers for establishing the Pope's authority and jurisdiction over kings.' To this subject I have already alluded in speaking of Wicliffe.

This strain of authority, and these preposterous claims of the Popes, did not continue unquestioned. The Council of Pisa (A.D. 1409) formally asserted the jurisdiction of the Church over the Pope, and the right of a council to depose the Pope. This right it immediately exerted in deposing two rival Popes, and electing a third in their stead. At the time of the Council of Constance, in 1414, there were three rival Popes. The Council deposed all of them; and then decreed a permanent session, or rather periodic meetings, of the Council, in order, if possible, to keep the Pope in check. The same Council also, in 1417, formally approved of a book by John Gerson, called 'Liber de Auferabilitate Papæ,' in which he said, 'Papa non debet conari ut canones positi, aut alienæ traditiones humanæ invariabiliter observentur per omnes nationes.' And again:—'Auferabilis est Papa per Generale Concilium.' The Council of Basle, in 1430, passed a formal resolution that, as a Council represents the Catholic Church, it is above the Pope, and that whoever holds a different opinion *is to be adjudged* A HERETIC. They

* Carleton, p. 216.

also declared that the Holy Scriptures and the Councils of the Churches (but not the Popes) were the only proper appeal in spiritual matters; and proclaimed it to be the duty of Councils to correct Popes who err from the faith, or who are depraved in morals.* In 1442 Cardinal Cusanus wrote that it is the duty of the Church to depart from a Pope who oversteps the proper limits of his power;† and that all bishops are on an equality with the Pope in the power of binding and loosing; and that a sovereign, ruling over Christians, is the only vicar of Christ for his people. These were some of the protests that were raised out of the bosom of the Roman Church itself. They are sufficient to testify the dissatisfaction with which the system was regarded, even by its intimate adherents. Yet this system had grown logically and inevitably out of the postulate that the Church stood upon dogmas, which it was its business to propound and to teach to all the world. From this the passage was easy to a clergy-church, and to setting up an *imperium in imperio* in every State of Europe. The protests were, of course, unheeded; those who protested were regarded as enemies. Moreover, there were not wanting those who developed the system and expounded its principles to the fullest extent. Thomas Aquinas, for instance,‡ wrote that the Pope, as supreme king of all the world, may impose taxes on all Christians, and even destroy towns

* Carleton's *Jurisdiction*, pp. 279, 280. † *Ibid.* p. 290.
‡ *Rule of Princes*, lib. iii. cc. x. and xix.

'for the preservation of Christianity.'* Bellarmine affirmed that the Pope, by reason of his spiritual power, had a supreme authority even in temporal matters.† The same was asserted in a Bull of Sixtus V., of the year 1585; also in the Bull which Pius V. fulminated against Elizabeth (A.D. 1570), wherein the Pope declared that he is 'prince over all nations and kingdoms, to pluck up and to destroy.'

I have enlarged on these points more than was immediately necessary, because of the curious and instructive parallel which they present to the case of many of the sectaries. This will become very palpable when the Auchterarder and Cardross cases come under our consideration. The Roman form and the American are more akin than may at first sight appear.

Before quitting this portion of the subject I must mention the Church of France; which, although now a portion of the Roman Church, used at one time, as much as that of England, to maintain the national form. In early times the Gallican Church was under the supremacy of the King of France; who used to summon the National Synod whenever it pleased him, and never would brook any meddling by the Bishop of Rome. In 1238 St. Louis ordained the law called the Pragmatic Sanction; which forbade all interference on the part of the Pope, and commanded that nothing should be done in the National Church of France without the free consent of the

* Barrow, *On the Pope's Supremacy*, p. 5.

† *Ibid.* p. 6.

King and Synod. As late as the year 1682 * a National Council declared the Gallican Church to be free from the power and interference of the Pope. The Declaration, which was drawn up by Bossuet, contains these words:—'Kings and princes are not subject, in temporals, to any ecclesiastical power. . . . . Likewise the rules, customs, and institutions which have been received by the kingdom and Gallican Church are to be in force, and the bounds of our fathers to remain unshaken.' † On January 23, 1688, the Parliament of Paris registered a declaration against the 'attempts' of the Pope 'in prejudice of the liberties of the Church of France, and of the rights and preeminences of the Crown,' in which they used these words:—'True it is that if this decree [the Bull *In Cœna Domini*], whereby the Popes declare themselves sovereign monarchs of the world, be legitimate, the Majesty Royal will then depend on their honour, all our liberties will be abolished, &c. . . . . We will defend ourselves with as much möderation as vigour against the insults, invasions, and innovations contrary to the King's rights, to the dignity of his crown, to the decrees of the Councils, to the general policy of our Church, and to our liberties.' ‡ When Pope Gregory IV. threatened to excommunicate the bishops of France if they did not second his designs with regard to the King of France, they answered, with a becoming independence, that 'they would not obey the Pope's will, and that *si excom-*

* Mosheim, iv. p. 91. † See Leslie's *Case stated.* ‡ *Ibid.*

municaturus veniret, excommunicatus abiret.' The Revolution overthrew the Gallican Church; but Napoleon, when First Consul, reestablished it as a National Church, basing it on the Declaration of 1682. Subsequently, the Gallican Church was again trodden down under the Pope's heel. In August of this year, however, it has shown signs of life, and Napoleon III. has again, in imitation of his uncle, appealed to the Declaration of 1682.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE SECTARIES.—AMERICA.

'If these principles be owned and allowed, there can hardly be expected any such thing as a NATIONAL SETTLEMENT; but all Churches must be *heaps of sand*, which may lie together till a puff of wind disperses them; having no firmer bond of union than the present humour and good-will of the people.'—*Stillingfleet.*

PART I.—ENGLAND.

I HAVE already placed side by side three of the forms of Church and State; I now enter upon the only remaining one. I presume that the national form of Church must, without hesitation, be preferred to either the Russian or the Roman form. I will now show that the 'Way of the Sectaries' (as the old divines used to call Americanism) is the very worst of all. And, as there can be no other form, this will be sufficient to prove the necessity of maintaining our National Church; nay, the utter folly of destroying the only remaining example of the ancient Churches of Christianity. The last chapter (that on the Conflict of the Churches) will demonstrate that a National Church, not being ultramontane, is the least aggressive of any.

I have ventured to give to the way of the sectaries the name of Americanism, although it existed long before the discovery of America; because the full developement of it exists now in America, and because (as the other forms of Churches were associated with States and kingdoms) it seemed to me better to follow the same rule also in the present instance.

The subject of the present chapter is the widely extended and ancient experiment of No-Church, or of sectaries separate from the State. In order to begin with the commencement of this Experiment, let us discover at what time in the history of the world it first took its rise. In the ancient world, no one ever imagined a State without its national religion, its established priests, its national festivals, its own gods, its national temples. No one ever conceived of a kingdom without its own peculiar national religion until the United States, with its hundred sects, had haunted our imaginations. In the ancient world, if any man were suspected of worshipping in a manner different from his nation, or of dissenting from the national religion, the surmise was enough to cause his death, even though he were a Socrates. All social relations were maintained on the assumption of the union of Church and State. Every action was looked upon as the impulse of some god. Marriages, wars, games, and even boundaries, were each regarded as under the spiritual care of some deity. Religion, with the heathen, was never separated from every-day work.

A national religion was considered necessary to a national life. Even Bishop Warburton confesses that 'all States and people in the ancient world had an established religion.' He allows also that the administration of the State and the established religion were retained in the same hands; for he says:—'There is scarcely a legislator recorded in ancient history but what pretended to revelation and Divine assistance.' In the Jewish polity, again, the Church and the State were, to say the least of it, very intimately blended. As they came fresh from the hands of the Divine Author, they were identical. Korah and Dathan, wrote Augustine,* were swallowed up for withstanding the Established Church, and claiming to choose their own pastors. Prynne † writes:—'The chief government and ordering of the Church, and power of making ecclesiastical laws or canons to bind it, before the law, belonged to patriarchs and others, not as they were priests, but rulers and fathers of their families; under the law it belonged to Moses, to the kings of Judah, Israel, and general assemblies or congregations of the princes, nobles, chief captains, heads, and elders of the people. Therefore, under the Gospel (by like reason and equity, and because it is part of Christ's kingly, not priestly or prophetical office), it must needs belong to Christian princes, magistrates, Parliaments; to whom Christ hath delegated his kingly authority, not to ministers (to whom he hath given only his prophetical or priestly authority; not his royal, as the

* Ep. 43 and 51. † *Independency examined.* 1644.

Scriptures at large resolve), nor yet to particular congregations, who are not magistrates, nor higher powers, invested with Christ's royal authority.'

In heathen Rome, they had no notion of any other form; for it was the business of the ædiles,* 'ut animadverterent ne qui, nisi Romani Dii, neu quo alio more quam patrio, colerentur.' The Jus Sacrum, says Du Moulin,† was comprised under the Jus Publicum, 'for the definition of Jus is the knowledge of divine and human things.'

In the feudal kingdoms of Europe,‡ the Frank invaders assumed the secular sovereignty; but left the performance of the sacred rites to the Gaulish and Romish priests. Among the Anglo-Saxons also the priests were subordinates who performed the sacrifices as deputies for the chief. Thus the offices of priest and king became separated, not from principle, but by accident or by monarchical indolence. The Reformers cast off these errors and reverted to the ancient system of the union of Church and State. Thus Calvin, for instance, in his 'Institutes,'§ 'Hoc quoque nomine maxime laudantur sancti reges in Scriptura, quòd Dei cultum corruptum vel eversum restituerint, vel curam gesserint religionis, ut sub illis pura et incolumis floreret. Contrà vero sacra historia inter vitia anarchias ponit, quòd "non esset rex in Israël, ideoque faceret quisque quod placebat."'

* Liv. *Hist.* iv. p. 162. † *Christian Magistrate*, p. 47.
‡ See Arnold's *Modern History*, and Hallam's *Middle Ages*, i. 416.
§ Lib. iv. c. xx. § 9.

The aim of Calvin was, indeed, the very opposite to that of the sectaries. Americanism did not take its rise in the Reformation. Certainly Calvin, to whom the sectaries always appeal, did not lay the foundation of it; he sought to establish a purely National Church. This is the account which Chevalier Bunsen gives of Calvin's work: *—'The Reformer, Calvin, attempted to form a groundwork for the realisation of his idea, by setting up, as the model of the Christian State, a free city, whose citizens should all be members of the Church. By so doing, he gave to that portion of the Church which adopted his views a decided preeminence for centuries, and a political aptitude for a free form of government.'

Americanism could not have taken its rise from any of these sources. The Independents of the seventeenth century affected, indeed, to imitate the Jewish polity. They took some trifling accidentals from the Jews, spoke in Old Testament language, and borrowed proper names from the Old Testament; but they certainly did not follow the civil and ecclesiastical polity of the Jews in its essential features. If the sectaries desire to pride themselves on the antiquity of their origin, they may take Augustine's view, and leave to Cartwright the honour of unearthing that ancient heresy; or if, as we are led to expect, from their custom of 'despising of dignities,' they utterly discard Augustine, then the earliest period which they can point out as their

* *Church of the Future*, p. 25.

origin is that described by Jude. Indeed, they deserve credit for the great steadfastness and consistency with which they still maintain the same character, and answer to that description.*

As Hume has never been suspected of allowing his views to receive any colouring from the Holy Scriptures, the striking similarity between the following passage from his History, and the descriptions given by the Apostles Peter and Jude, cannot be referred to such a source. Hume,† in speaking of the *Rise of the Independents*, says:—'Every man, as prompted by the warmth of his temper, excited by emulation, or supported by his habits of hypocrisy, endeavoured to *distinguish himself beyond his fellows*, and to arrive at a higher pitch of saintship and per-

* The description given by Peter is very remarkable:—'Those that despise government; presumptuous are they and self-willed; they are not afraid to speak evil of dignities; they speak evil of the things which they understand not; they have forsaken the right way, and are gone astray, following the way of Balaam, the son of Bosor, who loved the wages of unrighteousness; they promise liberty, &c.' Balaam prided himself upon his gifts, and desired to speak, as from God, the things which his hearers wished to hear. This he did because his remuneration depended upon it.

Similarly, Jude mentions those who 'speak evil of those things which they know not;' who 'run greedily after the error of Balaam, for reward; and perish in the gainsaying of Korah. . . . *These be they who separate themselves* (make a schism).'

St. Paul's injunction was that as 'we are all baptised into one body,' 'there should be no schism in the body,' but that we should all have the same aim, should 'mind the same thing' (Phil. iii. 16, cf. iv. 2). This St. Paul again counsels (1 Cor. xii. 25), 'in order that there should be no schism.' On this Stillingfleet writes: 'I should think Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Theophylact, all understood the importance of a Greek phrase, and they all make no scruple of interpreting it of the Peace and Concord of Christians' (*Unreasonableness of Separation*, p. 175).

† Vol. v. p. 176.

fection. . . . The Independents rejected all ecclesiastical establishments, and would admit of no spiritual courts, *no government* among pastors, no interposition of the magistrate in religious concerns, no fixed encouragement annexed to any system of doctrine or opinions. According to their principles, each congregation, united voluntarily and by spiritual ties, composed within itself a separate Church, and exercised a jurisdiction (*but one destitute of temporal sanctions*) over its own pastor and its own members. . . . The enthusiasm of the Presbyterians led them to *reject the authority of prelates, to throw off the restraint* of liturgies, to retrench ceremonies, to limit the riches and authority of the priestly office: the fanaticism of the Independents, exalted to a higher pitch, *abolished ecclesiastical government, disdained creeds and systems*, neglected every ceremony, and confounded all ranks and orders. . . . The political system of the Independents kept pace with their religious. Not content with confining to very narrow limits the power of the Crown, and reducing the King to the rank of first magistrate, which was the project of the Presbyterians; this sect, more ardent in the pursuit of liberty, aspired to a total abolition of the monarchy, and even of the aristocracy; and projected an entire equality of rank and order, in a republic quite free and independent.'

The Independents and other Sectaries still scorn all appointments by the State, and despise all ministers who receive fixed incomes. They hold that every congregation has a right to choose its own pastor;

and every Christian may select his own religion. Thus Ainsworth, in the preface to his 'Mischief of Impositions,' makes it the 'first and fundamental ground of their separation, *that every particular Church has an inherent right to choose its own pastor*, and every particular Christian the same power to choose his own Church.'* Having laid down the chief characteristic of the Sectaries, let us return to the Apostolic times, and see, by tracing it down to these days, how we are borne out by history.

Mosheim records a schism of the Donatists, and another of the Novatians; both of which arose, in the earliest times, from the Apostolic practice of not allowing each congregation to choose its own rector or episcopus. The Donatists' *pretence* for separation, according to Moshcim, was to maintain '*purity of Church discipline*;' a convenient form of ambiguous expression, which has served the Sectaries until these days. The pretexts put forward by the Novatians were '*the want of discipline in the Church*,' a desire for a '*better means of edification*,' and '*the people's right to choose their own pastors*.' All these expressions (as we shall presently see) have been religiously embalmed in the classic writings of the various Sectaries. There was also the schism of the Meletians, in Egypt. They agreed in all substantial points with the Church, but yet separated† for the sake of '*preserving the discipline of the Church*,' and for the better '*edification of the people*,' and because they desired to enforce

* And see Stillingfleet, *On Separation*, p. 308.

† See Epiphanius Hær. 68, and Mosheim.

'*the people's right of choosing their own pastor.*' A General Council of the Church condemned them. Another schism, that of Audæus, began in a similar manner.* The followers of Eustathius Sebastenus also pretended to '*greater purity in manners*,' and '*more severity in discipline.*' I have now mentioned five different congeries of Sectaries, belonging to the earliest period of Christianity. In all of them we find the same essential character. Let us bear that character in mind, in order that we may recognise the species *wherever* we chance to meet with it in subsequent history.

I will pass over the dark ages, and come down at once to the time of the Reformation in England.

Until the year 1565, there was in England† no thought of dissent. But when a more strict conformity, with regard to clerical vestments and discipline, was required of the clergy by the Queen, then the 'Puritans' began to murmur. They had acquired this name, 'Puritan,' because they, like the Schismatics of the early ages, affected a desire for a *greater purity of manners and discipline.* They, in common with the Roman Catholics, denied the royal supremacy; and held that resistance to the Crown (not only in ecclesiastical matters, but also on constitutional points) was allowable, and even praiseworthy, if the Crown opposed their views of ecclesiastical government. In this, also, they agreed with the Roman Catholics; who asserted the right to depose those princes whom the Church condemned. The

* Epiph. Hær. 70. † Hallam, *Const. Hist.* i. 181.

Swiss Reformers, Beza, Gualter, and Bullinger, used all their influence to dissuade them from making a schism; and apparently with some success. For Stillingfleet writes:—'All the *old Nonconformists* did think themselves bound in *conscience* to communicate with the Church of England, and did look upon separation from it to be sin, notwithstanding the corruptions they supposed to be in it. . . . This I have proved with so great evidence in the foregoing discourse, that those who deny it may, with the help of the same metaphysics, deny that the sun shines.'*

In 1567, some of them were brought up for examination. Their conduct upon this occasion gives us a glimpse of the spirit which really moved them. They behaved, on their examination, 'with a rudeness, as well as self-sufficiency, that had already begun to characterise the Puritan faction.'† John Fox, himself a Nonconformist, complained of the 'factious and turbulent spirit which had possessed them.'‡ The first serious beginning of separation was in the year 1572. The ostensible complaint was the retention of what were supposed to be superstitious ceremonies. The real ground of separation was the ecclesiastical polity; that is to say, the identity of Church and State. Cartwright was the founder of the new school. 'An ardent zeal (says Hallam), an inflexible self-confidence, a vigorous, rude, and arrogant style,' distinguished him as a Puritan leader.§ He published his views in his 'Admonition to Parliament,' in which

* Stillingfleet, *On Separation*, p. 73. † Hallam, *Const. Hist.* i. 182.
‡ Fuller's *Church Hist.* ix. 106. § *Const. Hist.* i. 185.

he displayed (according to Hallam) 'such a hardy spirit of innovation,' and developed schemes of ecclesiastical polity so extraordinary and so subversive of the ecclesiastical system which is 'interwoven with the temporal constitution of England,' that any satisfactory termination of the contest was most problematical. 'The scope of Cartwright's declaration was; not to obtain a toleration for dissent; not even, by abolishing the whole ecclesiastical polity, to place the different professions of religion on an equal footing, but to substitute his own *model of* Church *government*,* the one exclusive unappealable standard of obedience, with all the endowments of the present Church, and with all the support *to its discipline* that the civil power could afford.'† Cartwright evidently did not desire to separate Church and State. He wished to keep all the endowments which the Church then possessed. But he wished to erect upon it a clergy-church, which should entirely domineer over the nation. This passion for ecclesiastical power we shall often meet with in our consideration of the Sectaries. For Americanism and Romanism are nearly akin. These are the words of Cartwright: 'It must be remembered that magistrates, as they are nurses, so they be *servants to the Church*; . . . they must remember to *submit themselves unto the Church*, to submit their sceptres, to *throw down their crowns before the Church*; yea, as the prophet speaketh, to *lick the*

* See also the Evidence of Messrs. Morley and Foster, before the Lords' Committee, 1860.

† Hallam, *Const. Hist.* i. 188.

dust off the feet of the Church.' Neither does it appear that Cartwright differed on any doctrinal points from the Articles of the Church. He even held the Episcopal Church of England to be a true Church; and was greatly shocked to hear it called 'Antichrist' by some of his over-zealous followers. On his death-bed, the dissent which he had excited and fostered caused him the greatest pain. He 'wished he could begin his life again, that he might testify how deeply he disapproved his former ways.'* So far I have been guided by Hallam. Yet it seems that Hallam has somewhat missed the real point of difference. What Cartwright appears to have denied, was simply the national form of the Church. This becomes manifest from Archbishop Whitgift's 'Defence against Cartwright' (p. 180). He says, 'It cannot sink into my head that *he should be a member of a Christian Commonwealth, that is not also a member of the Church of Christ, concerning the outward society.*' And again (p. 702): 'I make *no difference between a Christian Commonwealth and the Church of Christ*; wonder you as much at it as you will. I have showed my reasons before, and you have not, as yet, used any to the contrary.' †

The contest was, in fact, neither maintained on theological grounds, nor waged against ceremonies; it related to the model of Church government. It was chiefly political. D'Aubigné, who professes to be an '*individualist*,' that is, an Independent,

* Southey's *Book of the Church*, p. 353.

† See *Vindication of the Lower House of Convocation*, p. 44.

writes* that Christianity had 'become subservient to a political idea.' Southey asserts that Queen Elizabeth disliked those 'Church revolutionists,' because she perceived that their principles were more perilous *to the State* than Romanism. Even Hallam allows that the objection to conformity, during the reign of Elizabeth, rested more on the supposed unlawfulness of the civil power imposing any Church regulations, than in any impropriety in the usages themselves. Walsingham himself asserted that these Sectaries scorned 'the consent of the magistrate,' and that they appeared to be influenced, not by zeal, nor by conscience, but by 'mere faction and division.' †

Even so late as during the reigns of James I. and Charles I., as both Dr. Arnold and Mr. Buckle assert,‡ the contest was not a struggle of creeds and dogmas, but *merely a political conflict*, carried on between the supporters of the Crown and the adherents of the Parliament. A speech of James I., in fact, contains these words: The Puritans 'do not so far differ from us in points of religion, as in their confused form of policy and parity.' § De Foe's assertion, moreover, is that ‖ 'the King [Charles I.] fell out about matters of civil right. . . The first difference between the King and the English Parliament did not respect religion, but civil property.' There is also the evidence of Bishop Short with regard to those dissensions: 'The whole

* *Protector*, pp. 224–6.

† See Southey's *Book of the Church*, p. 351.

‡ Arnold's *Modern History*, p. 232; Buckle's *Civilisation*, p. 329.

§ *Parliamentary History*, i. 982, &c.

‖ Somers' *Tracts*, ix. 572.

discussion appears to belong to the State rather than to the Church. Episcopacy, presbytery, and independency were made the watchwords of parties; but the real question throughout was a political one.'* Again, at a later time, the hostility of Cromwell to the Church, at the commencement of the Revolution, did not arise by any means from theological objections, but merely from political animosity.† Cromwell, indeed, asserted that his war was political, and not religious.‡ Prynne's and Bastwick's offences were political; they 'tended directly to excite rebellion,' says Southey; who continues: 'Prynne himself lived to be sensible of this, and to acknowledge, in his old age, that "if the King had cut off his head, when he only cropt his ears, he had done no more than justice, and had done God and the nation good service!"' There is a pamphlet extant by an author, who was evidently much exacerbated against the King and cavaliers. It is entitled, 'An Honest Broker; or, Reasons urging a more liberal Loan towards the maintenance of Religion, with the Removal of the usual Slanders cast upon the Parliament, 1642.' After abusing the King's party, the writer avers: 'The Articles of faith are not in difference; it is but the ritual, and but exterior part of *discipline*, that is in question. . . . How hath Puritanism been fined, penanced, pilloried? . . . Is it because it

* Short's *History of the Church of England*, p. 407.

† *Ibid.* pp. 452, 458; Vaughan's *Cromwell*, i. xcvii.; Burton's *Diary*, ii. 479, quoted by Buckle, pp. 329–331.

‡ Carlyle's *Cromwell*, iii. 103; Walker's *History of Independency*, Part I. 132.

impugns any article of faith? No; but the canons of the Church, and therein *the King's authority.*' Walker goes much farther,* in asserting that the Independents from the beginning carried on the civil war with no other intention than to overturn the monarchy and set up anarchy, 'notwithstanding the many declarations, remonstrances, abortive treaties, protestations, and covenants, which were obligations from time to time extorted from them by the Presbyterians.'

Except on political grounds, there was no difference of opinion. The Independents held exactly the same faith as we. They could subscribe to our Articles. The ceremonies of our Church were, in their eyes, matters of small moment. A fixed liturgy had repeatedly received the highest eulogies and panegyrics from those who were, in their estimation, the chiefest and best of the Reformers. Let us appeal to the testimony of three of their shining lights — Dr. Owen, who presided at the Savoy Conference, Baxter, and Ainsworth. Dr. Owen says:† 'We agree with our brethren in the faith of the Gospel; and we are firmly united with the main body of Protestants in this nation, in confession of the same faith.' And again: 'The parties at difference do agree in all substantial parts of religion, and in a common interest as to the preservation and defence of the Protestant religion.' Baxter says, that they [Nonconformists] agree with us [Church of England] 'in the doctrine of

* *History of the Independents*, Part II. p. 20.
† *Vindication of Nonconformity*, p. 8.

the Thirty-nine Articles, as distinct from the form of government and imposed abuses.' And more fully elsewhere: 'Is not the Nonconformists' doctrine the same with that of the Church of England, when they subscribe to it, and offer so to do?' Ainsworth * acknowledges that 'the Dissenters generally agree with that book which is commonly called the Thirty-nine Articles, which was compiled above a hundred years ago, and this book some men call the Church of England.' † It was not a question of conscience in those days. Nor yet has conscience really anything to do with the matter now. According to their own showing at this present time—according to the evidence which their leaders and exponents gave, only three years ago, before a Committee of the House of Lords—conscience has nothing to say to the question; they desire merely to '*establish their theory of government.*' ‡

Before entering upon the history of the Sectaries in England, it was most necessary to disabuse the

* *Mischief of Impositions.*

† See Stillingfleet, *On Separation*, p. 95.

‡ Mr. MORLEY states that he represents the opinions of a very large portion of the Nonconformist community, and then continues by asserting (Q. 661) that 'the opposition is directed not merely against Church-rates, but *against any connection between Religion and the State*; (680) in fact, it is not in consequence of the injury which is done to Dissenters, but because they wish to assert a principle which they think is a true principle in *the theory of government.*'

Dr. FOSTER (Q. 1696) says, that 'as long as the *Established Church exists*, there will be the same point of difference as there is now' . . . that *if the Episcopal Church were no longer established*, 'a great many of them would become Episcopalians.' And again (Q. 1570): 'The great points of religious belief, which are held in common by nineteen-twentieths of the Dissenters, are held by the Church of England: *they are identically the same.*'

reader's mind of such a prejudice; in order that he might not thereby be made to misunderstand the whole question, and be led away by the plausible pretexts and pretences of 'conscience,' which the Sectaries have so often put forward and so pertinaciously maintained. To any dissenter who may chance to read this book, I will commend the following passage, from a divine who lived in the midst of those troubles, and wrote when the horizon was dark and when nothing but adversity seemed before him:—'What ground of faith, what new creed do they hold, different from their neighbours? What Scriptures, what baptism, what Eucharist, what Christ, what heaven, what means of salvation other than the rest? Alas! my friends, whiles we do fully agree in all these and all other doctrinal and practical points of religion, why will ye be so uncharitable as, by these frivolous and causeless divisions, to rend the seamless coat of Christ? Is it a title, or a retinue, or a ceremony, a garment, or a colour, or an organ-pipe, that can make us a different Church, whiles we preach and profess the same saving truth; whiles we desire (as you profess to do) to walk conscionably with our God, according to that one rule of the royal law of our Maker; whiles we oppose one and the same common enemy; whiles we unfeignedly endeavour to hold the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace? Oh! consider, I beseech you in the fear of God, consider whether these be the thoughts of the sons of peace, and such as are suitable to the charge and legacy of our dear

Saviour; and think seriously from what spirit they proceed. For us, we make no difference at all (in the right and interest of the Church) *betwixt clergy and laity*, betwixt the clergy and laity of one part and another; *we are all your true brethren; we are one with you, both in heart and brain;* and hope to meet you in the same heaven.'*

I now return to the middle of the sixteenth century. The 'Brownists,' in common with the Puritans and other Nonconformists, held that each congregation is a church in itself, and entitled to regulate its own affairs, free from all external interference. The Brownists, however, exceeded all the rest in their hatred of a legal ministry and Church Establishment. They differed also from the old Nonconformists in denying the Church of England to be a true church; they declared the Established Church to be 'Popish and antichristian.' Marsden says† that the Brownists held that 'every particular church, with its pastor, stands immediately under Christ, the arch-pastor, without any other ecclesiastical power intervening, whether it be of prelates, of synods, or any other invented by man.' This was also called '*the Congregational way.*' The Brownists subsequently (with regard to their characteristic principles, and the cause of their separation) styled themselves '*Independents.*' Giffard was one of these. He joined in the petition to Parliament against the English Church. His name used, in those times, to be coupled with

* Hall's *Remonstrance.*

† *Dict. of Christian Churches*, p. 125.

that of Cartwright.* This Giffard thus states the fundamental postulate of Brownism :† 'That churches are to be set up, and discipline reformed without the consent of the Christian magistrate; Brown maketh many arguments to prove that princes are not to be stayed for, nor yet to have to do, by public power, to establish religion. Which opinion of his is such abridging the sacred power of princes . . . . that, if there were nothing else, it is enough to make him *an odious and detestable heretic.*'‡ The difference between them and us is here distinctly put on a political ground by one of themselves; and they are, *therefore*, designated as 'heretics.' The author of 'The Profane Schism of the Brownists' describes their character in these words: 'Their spirits are bitter above measure, and their hearts puffed up with the leaven of pride.' The Nonconformists even condemned their schism as 'vile, notorious, and damnable.' Giffard§ charged them with 'making a vile schism, rending themselves from the Church of England' *just* '*as the Donatists did of old time*;' and prophesied that 'the end of Brownism will be infinite schisms, heresies, atheism, and barbarism.' In Giffard's 'Second Treatise against the Donatists of England,' he charges them with disregarding 'the chief Christian virtues and godly duties (as, namely, to be meek, to be patient, to be lowly, to be full of

* See *The Defence of Bradshaw against Johnson.*

† *Answer to the Brownists*, p. 104.

‡ Stillingfleet, *On Separation*, p. 78.

§ *First Treatise against the Donatists of England*, 1590; and see *Defence of the Churches of England*, by H. Jacob, against Johnson and the other Brownists, 1599.

love and mercy, to deal uprightly and justly, and to stand fast in the calling in which God hath set them),' and giving themselves up instead to 'arguing and talking continually, as if this were the sum and pith of religion.'* That is the character of the Brownists, as delineated by themselves. The old Nonconformists, on the other hand, held that it was wrong and unlawful to set up separate congregations where there was no material difference as to doctrine or the substantials of religion.† One of the arguments which these old Nonconformists used against the Brownists was that such conduct amounted to a condemnation of Cranmer and Ridley, and the other Reformers who had laid down their lives for the sake of that very Church, from which the Brownists desired men to separate. 'Separation from the communion of the National Church,' said they, 'would reflect much on the honour of our martyrs, who lived and died in that communion, and in the practice of those ceremonies which they now adjudge to be sinful.' Nay, more; it was those very martyrs who had settled, in this fashion, the terms of our communion; and decided deliberately in favour of those practices. When the Brownists, therefore, determined to separate, they were vehemently opposed by the 'old Nonconformists,' and a bitter controversy was stirred up between them.‡ Parker, himself a Nonconformist, says: § 'As for those of the separation, who have confuted them more than we? or who have written more against them?' The Nonconformists,

* See Stillingfleet, *On Separation*, p. 28. † *Ibid.* p. 74.
‡ *Ibid.* p. 27. § Parker, *On the Cross*, Part II. cap. ii.

it appears, disapproved of certain ceremonies and vestments; but yet they adhered firmly to the national form of Church and State. They desired that some 'Popish practices' should be reformed; but they held it wrong and sinful to separate from the Church. They asserted that the Brownists had no right to set up a church in opposition to the Church of the nation, over which the executive of the nation bore rule; and that the Brownist ministers were not real ministers—were not by any means clergy, because the nation had not delegated to them any of the national authority. The old Nonconformists pleaded,* 'That it doth not belong to private persons to set up the *discipline of the Church* against the will and consent of the Christian magistrate and governors of the Church.' (For the Brownists' pretext for separation, like that of the heretics of old, rested on two counts—*the right of the people to choose their pastors*; and, *for the sake of a better discipline in the Church.*) And Giffard: 'The fetters and chains can no faster bind the hands and feet of Brownists than the hands of private men are bound with the bands of conscience, and the fear of God, from presuming to take upon them *public authority* (that is, the authority of the nation). And if all the Brownists in the land should come together and choose a minister, and ordain him, it would make him no more a minister before God than if all the apprentices in London, taking upon them to choose

* *Grave Confutation of the Separatists,* p. 51; and see Giffard's *Answer to the Brownists.*

a lord-mayor, and administer an oath unto him, should make him a lord-mayor.* Several Nonconformists joined in writing a 'Confutation of the Brownists;' wherein (p. 51) they say: 'We cannot find any warrant in Holy Scripture for them that are private members of any church to *erect the discipline*; no, not though the magistrate and ministers who should deal in this work were altogether profane and ungodly.' Some years later the Brownists, dropping the name of Brownists and taking that of Independents instead, were anxious to get rid also of the odium which was attached to Brownist principles, or to 'rigid separation.' They abjured, therefore, that doctrine, affirming an entire separation to be unlawful. Thus we read in the 'Brownists' Apology,' which they presented to King James I., A.D. 1604 (p. 7): 'Neither count we it lawful for any member to forsake the fellowship of the church for blemishes and imperfections which every one, according to his calling, should studiously seek to cure.' And in the Confession of their Faith (which was written by Johnson and Ainsworth) there are these words: 'None is to separate from a church, rightly gathered and established, for faults and corruptions which may, and (so long as the church consisteth of mortal men) will fall out and arise among them, even in truly constituted churches; but by due order seek the redress thereof.'† They, moreover, in this same 'Apology' of theirs, profess that they never differed, on any point, from the National Church of England.

* See Stillingfleet, *On Separation*, p. 45. † *Ibid.* p. 32.

These are their words: 'We testify, by these presents, unto all men, and desire them to take knowledge hereof, that we have not forsaken any one point of the true, ancient, catholic and apostolic faith professed in our land; but hold the same grounds of Christian religion with them still.' And, in their 'Apologetical Narrative:' 'And for our congregations (of England) we have this sincere profession to make before God and all the world, that all that conscience of the defilements we conceived to cleave to the true worship of God in them, or of the *unwarranted power in church governors exercised therein*, did never work in us any other thought, much less opinion, but that multitudes of the assemblies and parochial congregations thereof, were the true churches and body of Christ, and the ministry thereof a true ministry.' Thus the Brownists themselves were ashamed of their principles, recanted, and proclaimed the error of their way. The Presbyterians were, however, not satisfied with that Apology. They considered that the Independents had not performed sufficient lustrations, nor entirely purged themselves from the charge of Brownism. In the 'Anatomy of Independency,' they charged the Independents with agreeing still with the old Separatists in their fundamental *principle of 'popular church government*; which is inconsistent with the civil peace, as may be seen in the quarrels both at Amsterdam and Rotterdam, and the law-suits depending before the magistrates there;' and also with '*making true saintship the necessary qualification*

of church members, as the Separatists [Brownists] did.'

Having sufficiently explained their principles, let us inquire into the way in which these principles worked; let us strive to gain an insight into the motives which really prompted them to separate. The Presbyterians alleged that quarrelling was inherent in the Brownists' system, and sprang inevitably out of the fundamental principle which they professed, namely, *the people's right to choose their own pastors*. Let us see to what their aversion to a legal ministry and a National Church immediately led them.

In 1582, the Brownists withdrew to Middleburgh in the Netherlands, and chose Harrison, a schoolmaster, as their 'pastor,' and Robert Brown as their 'teacher.' Brown, becoming envious, quarrelled with Harrison and with one Barrow. The congregation immediately fell into factions and divisions. They disputed among themselves, and finally excommunicated each other. Brown then forsook them in disgust, returned to England, abjured the principles which he had promulgated, subscribed a promise of obedience to the archbishop, and accepted a parish at his hands. Harrison, being free from his old enemy, speedily made new ones. He lost no time in picking a quarrel with Francis Johnson and with Barrow. This Barrow subsequently suffered death abroad for the publication of seditious books. Francis Johnson quarrelled also with Ainsworth, charged him with sedition, accused him of Anabaptist tenets, and then solemnly cursed him.

Ainsworth, having gathered a party, made a schism from Johnson and his party, and the two factions set to work cursing and anathematising each other.* 'When Robinson went from Leyden to make them at peace, he complained of the "*disorderly and tumultuous carriage of the people*;" an early discovery (says Stillingfleet) of the blessings of popular government' in a church; that is, of the result of the principles of Americanism. Presently Smith, a pupil of Johnson's, made another schism from them. He set up another congregation for himself; and declared that, as the Church of England was 'the beast,' so all the other Separatists were 'the image of the beast.' One Simpson, also, renouncing his ordination, went over to Rotterdam, and joined himself to the English Separatists there. He immediately complained of 'the restraint upon private individuals exercising the gift of prophecy,' and wanted to make a schism on that ground. The pastor, Mr. Bridge, however, yielded to his desire, and allowed him to 'prophesy on the Lord's day, after sermon.' But yet 'they must have their will in everything, or else complain of the mischiefs of impositions;'† and so Simpson and his party made a schism, and set up a new church of their own. Even then they could not be quiet. They uttered slanders, and stirred up a contention no less fierce than the animosities at Amsterdam.‡ Even the

* See Stillingfleet, *On Separation*, p. 49, &c.; *Profane Schism of the Brownists*, p. 63; *Way of Congregational Churches*, p. 6.

† J. Goodwin, *Answer to Antapologia*, p. 245.

‡ J. Baylie, *Dissuasive from the Errors of the Times*, p. 76.

placid Mr. Bridge's church was so filled with bitterness and heartburnings, that he sincerely wished he had never come among them.*

In this account of the first Separatists, we observe two characteristics which are very prominent throughout Americanism, in whatever quarter of the globe it is found. (1) The great turbulence and seditious character of the people. (2) How soon the disregard of a church establishment becomes apparent in its results; how quickly it works in producing endless schisms, and giving birth to ever new divisions. It is as when the restraining tire is removed from a wheel, the unity is destroyed, the several parts fly asunder, and each becomes utterly valueless and ineffective in itself. No wonder that the Presbyterian divines condemned the principles of the Independents in such unmeasured terms. Dr. A. Stuart proved it to be 'the root of all schisms and heresies.' Dr. Burgess, another Presbyterian, in his sermon before the House of Commons, asserted that thereby 'our Church was laid waste and exposed to confusion.' Matthew Newcommen, another Presbyterian divine, in his sermon before Parliament [in 1644], affirmed that 'Diversity of religion disjoints and distracts the minds of men, and is the seminary of perpetual hatreds, jealousies, seditions, wars, if anything in the world be; and, in a little time, *either a schism in the State begets a schism in the Church, or a schism in the Church begets a schism in the State.*' And Calamy,

* *Anatomy of Independency*, p. 6; Stillingfleet, *On Separation*, p. 57.

in his sermon before the Lord Mayor [1645], said, 'London is become an Amsterdam . . . . it would seem a wonder if I should reckon how many congregations, or rather segregations there are in this city.' This is the prelude and introduction to the drama which was played out during the time of the Commonwealth;—a time when old usages and time-honoured formularies were forsaken and cast off; when every false prophet was therefore able to attract a circle of admirers around him, who babbled his praise and repeated his errors. Antinomian heresies took root speedily; Sabellian schisms were received with acclamation by the seceders; infidelity and even blasphemy became rampant, and spread to a frightful extent. And if the weight of a National Church (although deteriorated in the model) had not weighed heavily in the other scale, England would for ever have been, like America, cut into what Milton designated as '*subdichotomies of petty schisms.*'

At the close of the year 1645, when the National Church was of a Presbyterian model, there was a very hot controversy between the divines of the Westminster Assembly and the Independents, concerning the lawfulness of separation. On December 4 in that year, the Presbyterian divines of the Assembly appointed a 'Committee for Accommodation.' To this committee the Independents proposed, as a settlement, 'That they should not be forced to communicate, as members of the church, in those parishes where they dwelt, but might have liberty to have con-

gregations of persons of established godliness.' The divines of the Assembly answered, on December 15, that 'this desire is not to be granted, for three reasons: (1) Because it holds out a plain and total separation from the Rule. (2) Because it plainly holds out the lawfulness of gathering churches out of true churches, whereof we are assured that there is not the least hint of any example in all the book of God. (3) Because this would give countenance to a perpetual schism and division in the church, still drawing away some from the churches under the Rule.' On December 23, the Independents put in their reply, which consisted in a plea concerning '*tenderness of consciences.*' This the divines of the Assembly repudiated, telling them that if their conscience was offended they might remove to another congregation or parish under the same Rule (i.e. of the same church); but that it was not lawful to remove to a congregation of a different constitution from the Rule. They concluded by predicting that such a 'toleration, being the first, shall indeed but lay the foundation, and open the gap, whereat as many divisions in the church as there may be scruples in the minds of men, shall, upon the self-same equity, be let in.'

Early in the same year [1645] the Westminster Assembly of Divines had framed a Presbyterian constitution for the National Church. To the synod they gave, by this constitution, the ultimate appeal in all spiritual causes. As soon as the constitution was laid before Parliament, there arose a dispute

between the Presbyterian clergy and the civil power concerning these 'appeals,' and the supremacy of spiritual courts. This had been the old battle-ground between the Pope and the English Church. The House of Commons was now as unbending as of yore. They would not assent to such an *imperium in imperio*; they would not hear of a power in the State which should be independent of it, and supreme in all cases which could be called ecclesiastical. They determined that, from the highest court of the Presbyterian Church (then the National Church), an appeal should lie to their own tribunal—to a Committee of the House of Commons. The Scotch commissioners in London, however, were instructed to protest against such a doctrine. These divines asserted in reply that Presbyterianism existed *jure divino*, by right divine; and that it must therefore *command submission from the temporal power*. Shade of Hildebrand! The Popes have been outdone at last by the Presbyterians! (We shall see hereafter that the Free Church schism also began thus.) Many angry words were exchanged between the Assembly of Divines and the House of Commons. Each lusted for power; they worshipped Baal. At last Parliament, on April 17, returned, to the commissioners, a final answer. It was based on a full recognition of the form of a National Church. It stated that such a demand for ecclesiastical independence was not '*consistent with the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom*,' in that it 'excluded the Parliament of England from the exercise of all ecclesiastical

jurisdiction . . . we have the more reason not to part with this power, out of the hands of the civil magistrate, *since the experience of all ages will manifest that the reformation and purity* of religion, and the preservation and protection of the people of God in this kingdom, *has, under God, been owing to the Parliament's exercise of this power.'* * At that time, when passion and prejudice were so strong, they could not be expected to appeal to the *royal* supremacy. They substituted therefore the Parliament for the King. In every other respect they answered the Presbyterian divines as the Kings of England used to answer the Popes.

As soon as Cromwell was firmly seated in the Protectorate, he subjected religion to a political system, much more severe and rigid than it had ever before been brought under. Every one was, with a Procrustean strictness, to be cut square to a legal regulation pattern. This was most necessary. There were, as I have already shown, plenty of drinking, swearing, fornicating parsons. There were also Puritans who wore their hair, for conscience' sake, combed over their brazen foreheads, and cut round the edge of a bowl. This was their way of wearing broad phylacteries. They could not even speak the king's English in a simple, straightforward manner; they interlarded it with biblical terms, in their hypocritical affectation. Their mouths were always full of a preposterous cant of sanctimonious

* Marsden's *Dict. of Christian Churches*, p. 765.

religiosity. It was hard for Cromwell to crush such a drove as that, into any system. The Commons had made government an irresponsible tyranny, dissolvable only at its own pleasure. The Commons had constituted themselves the executive, as well as the legislature of the nation. They had taken command of the army and of its commander, Cromwell. Therefore there was nothing left for Cromwell but to take command of them, handing over their 'bauble' to some obedient pikeman. Then only it became possible to dragoon that contumacious religion of theirs into a system. When he had fully succeeded, he recalled their minds to that period in the following speech:—

'In the last days perilous times shall come; men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, and so on . . . having a form of godliness without the power. Surely these are sad tokens of the last times. . . . And though nobody will own these things publicly as to practice, the things being so abominable and odious, yet how this principle extends itself, and whence it had its rise, makes me think of a second sort of men, tending in the same direction, who, it's true, as I said, will not practise nor own these things, yet can tell the magistrate "that he hath nothing to do with men holding such notions: these, forsooth, are *matters of conscience and opinion*: they are matters of religion; what hath the magistrate to do with these things? He is to look to the outward man, not to the inward," and so

forth. . . . Such considerations and pretensions to "*liberty of conscience*," *what are they leading us towards?* Liberty of conscience and liberty of the subject, two as glorious things to be contended for as any that God hath given us; yet both these *abused for the patronising of villanies*! Insomuch that it hath been an ordinary thing to say, and, in dispute, to affirm, "that the restraining of such pernicious notions was not in the magistrate's power; he had nothing to do with it; not so much as the printing of a Bible in the nation for the use of the people was competent to the magistrate, lest it should be imposed upon the *consciences* of men; for they would receive the same traditionally and implicitly from the magistrate if it were thus received!" *The aforementioned abominations did thus swell to this height among us.* So likewise the axe was laid to the root of the ministry. It was "anti-Christian," it was "Babylonish," said they.* *

Let us revert to that short period during which the National Church was completely overturned. Were unity and peace and concord the result of that 'liberty of conscience' and that 'freedom' from a National and Established Church? No. The destruction of the Church was the signal for renewed contentions and multiplied divisions. The evil was prolific. New sects were daily hatched out of its spawn. In a National Church (whose characteristic is that it does not stand upon dogma, but comprises

* Cromwell's Speech, 1st Parliament, Sept. 4, 1654. See Carlyle, vol. iii. p. 346.

the whole nation), differences of opinion can exist without divisions and subdivisions into sects and segregations. In sects this is not so. There, the least difference produces a new separation. When men once break the rules of order and government, they are whirled down a perilous incline, where there is nothing to stop their course. A popular church government must lead to divisions and ever-increasing sects. This is always the case with democratical religions. It is the characteristic feature of Americanism to be loose and unconnected, like a sandhill, which every wind may shift. The cries about '*purity of discipline*,' and '*liberty of conscience*,' and the 'mischief of impositions,' are merely the old masks which have been worn, ever since the birth of Christianity, to conceal the working of those passions which produce these continual subdivisions. The Assembly of Divines replied to this worn-out '*conscience*' plea of the Independents: 'Upon the same pretence, those who scruple infant baptism may withdraw from their churches, and so separate into another congregation. And so in *that*, some practice may be scrupled, and *they* separate again. Are these divisions and subdivisions as lawful as they may be infinite?'* Baxter himself confesses† that 'separation will ruin the separated churches themselves at last; it will admit of no consistency. Parties arise in the separated churches, and separate again from them till they are dissolved.' That this infinite subdivision was the result of bursting the bonds of the

* Stillingfleet, p. 70. † *Defence of the Cure of Divisions*, p. 50.

National Church I am now about to show; then (to use Stillingfleet's words) 'came such an overpowering inundation of errors and schisms among us, that this age is like to smart under the sad effects of it.'*

On January 15, 1645,† the city of London, wearied and worn out by this constant repetition of ever-recurring schisms, petitioned Parliament that *all* private meetings might be put down, because that they were 'multiplied to such a height.' Some such ordinance was probably then decreed. It seems, however, not to have been the proper remedy. Schisms went on increasing. Then they tried another remedy—a fast, it seems. At least Prynne‡ thanks the House of Commons in these words: 'You have already, blessed be God, by a most pious ordinance, proclaimed a solemn fast and humiliation for the deplorable late increase of heresies and blasphemies among us.' But still this even was not the proper remedy; or else, the poison being still each day imbibed anew, the remedy was rendered inoperative. Without a National Church nothing could produce those results which can follow only from that form; nothing could stop the evil effects of that 'way of the sectaries' which they cherished. No wonder Calamy complained bitterly, that London had become a second Amsterdam; no wonder that he should deplore the state of a country, where the sects were so innumerable, that persons were

* *On Separation*, p. 293. † *Parliamentary History.*
‡ *Sword of Magistracy.*

'hindered from conversion, and even the godly themselves had lost much of the power of godliness in their lives,' so that 'a wide door had been opened unto all irreligion and atheism.'* The ministers of London and Westminster (and all the parts within the pale of those parliamentary ordinances, which had been decreed for the overthrow of the national form of Church) drew up, on June 19, 1646, 'Certain Considerations and Cautions,' in which the burden of the tune which they harped upon was 'the unspeakable miseries of the Church by woful divisions, blasphemies, heresies, abominable looseness, libertinism, atheism, and the spiritual ruin of many congregations through false teachers.' In the Life of Oliver Heywood there is a statement that 'it was out of Independency that there sprang the numerous sects which are the reproach of that period and of Puritanism itself—the Sabbatarians, Millenarians, Grindletonians, Muggletonians, Fifth Monarchists, Ranters, Seekers, Quakers, Anabaptists, with many others more shortlived than these.' Thomas Edwards, a Presbyterian, in his famous book called "Gangræna," enumerates as many as 180 sects. The testimony contained in this book is most important. It is now in the hands of few; and yet it should be read by all. I may, perhaps, therefore be pardoned for quoting largely from its pages. This book is addressed to the House of Commons. The preface, therefore, begins with rehearsing eulogistically that which had been done.

* See Wilks's *Correlative Claims*, p. 87.

'You have, most noble senators, done worthily against papists, prelates, and scandalous ministers, in casting down images, altars, crucifixes, throwing out ceremonies, &c.; but what have you done against other kinds of growing evils, heresy, schism, disorder, against *Seekers*, *Anabaptists*, *Antinomians*, *Brownists*, *Libertines*, *and other sects*? You have destroyed Baal and his priests; but have you been as zealous against *golden calves* and the "*priests of the lowest of the people?*" Are not these grown up and daily increase under you? Are any effectual means used against them? You have made a Reformation, and blessed be God who put it into your hearts to do such things! but with the *Reformation* have we not *a Deformation, and worse things come in upon us than ever we had before?* Were any of those monsters heard of heretofore, which are now common among us,—as denying the Scriptures, pleading for a toleration of all religions and worships, yea, for blasphemy, and denying there is a God? You have put down the Book of Common Prayer; and there are many among us have put down the Scriptures, slighting, yea, blaspheming them.'

He continues then, by attempting to reduce the multifarious herd of sectaries to a few heads. In order to do this, he must comprise a great number under the convenient title of 'Independents;' for which he thus excuses himself:—

'I may justify the *ranking and joining of Independents with other sectaries*, not only because all the sectaries are Independents, agreeing in that opinion

of Independency; as also all the sectaries, the worst of them (even those who deny the Scriptures, the divinity of Christ, &c.), do separate from the Church of England.' He then attempts to classify the many schisms under sixteen heads: 'The errors, heresies, blasphemies, in this catalogue particularised, may be referred to sixteen heads, or *sorts* of sectaries; as namely—1. Independents. 2. Brownists. 3. Chiliasts or Millenaries. 4. Antinomians. 5. Anabaptists. 6. Manifestarians or Arminians. 7. Libertines. 8. Familists. 9. Enthusiasts. 10. Seekers and Waiters. 11. Perfectists. 12. Socinians. 13. Arians. 14. Antitrinitarians. 15. Antiscripturists. 16. Sceptics and Questionists, *who question everything in matters of religion*, namely, all the articles of faith and *first principles* of Christian religion; holding *nothing positively nor certainly*, saving the doctrine of pretended liberty of conscience for all, and liberty of prophecy.' He feels, however, the impossibility of the task. He cannot fix the ever-varying forms of sectaries. 'The sects have been growing upon us ever since the first year of your sitting, and have every year increased more and more. Things have been bad a great while; but this last year they are grown intolerable; and if schism, heresy, &c., be let alone, and rise proportionably for one year longer, we shall need no cavaliers nor enemies from without to destroy us.' And then, in the anguish of his soul, he exclaims—'How do sects and schisms increase and grow daily! Sectaries doing even what

they will, committing insolencies and outrages, not only against the truth of God and the peace of the Church, but the civil state also! going up and down countries causing riots, yea, tumults and disturbances in the public assemblies! How do persons, cast out of other countries for their errors, not only live here, but gather churches, preach publicly their opinions! what swarms are there of all sorts of illiterate and mechanic preachers, yea, of women and boy preachers! * what a number of meetings of sectaries in this city, eleven at least in one parish! what liberty of preaching, printing of all errors, or for a toleration of all and against the Directory, Covenant, monthly fast, presbyterial government, and all ordinances of parliament in reference to religion!'

As might be expected, this endless multiplication of sects, with no substantial cause for division, produced only carelessness and coldness in religion. And this seems to have brought in its train the very worst species of licentiousness and vice. It was a very curse upon the land. 'Our religion will be lost, and men will turn so fast either malignants or sectaries, that government will come too late; there will be none to govern (be rulers), and the malignity of the disease will be gone so far, and get such deep rooting, that the remedy and medicine, though excellent and powerful, will not reach it. This is the sense and cry both of ministers and people, of the body representative and body represented, and is to

* Vide Petition of the Lord Mayor, &c. of London, presented to the House of Lords, Jan. 16, 1646.

be seen in their petitions, &c.* . . . . For now *blasphemies, heresies, strange practices are come to a height, and grow more in a week or month now, than in a year before. . . . . Every day brings forth some new monster of opinion, and blasphemies swarm and increase everywhere. . . . . .* This land is become already, in many places, a *chaos*, a *Babel*, *another Amsterdam*: yea worse; we are beyond that, and in the high way to Munster; if God prevent not, and if a general toleration be granted, so much written and stood for, England would quickly become *a Sodom, an Egypt, Babylon*; yea, worse than all these, it would prove the cause and fountain of all kind of damnable heresies and blasphemies, *loose and ungodly practices, bitter and unnatural divisions in families* and churches; it would *destroy all religion*; and, as Polytheism among the heathen brought in *Atheism*, so would many religions bring in none among us. We have the plague of Egypt upon us, frogs out of the bottomless pit covering our land, coming into our houses, bedchambers, beds, churches; a man can hardly come into any place, but some croaking frog or other will be coming up upon him.'

And again:—'*Many of the sects and sectaries, in our days, deny all principles of religion, are enemies to all holy duties*, order, learning; overthrowing all, being *Vertiginosi Spiritus*—whirligig spirits; and the great opinion of a universal toleration tends to the laying

* As the Petition of Lord Mayor, &c., Jan. 16.

of all waste, and dissolution of all religion and good manners. Now, are not these errors, heresies and schisms, spots and blots in our Reformation? do they not blemish and cast a dark shadow upon all the light parts? Are they not the dead flies in the apothecaries' ointment, sending forth a stinking savour? Are they not the reproach and rejoicings of the common enemy—the scandal of the weak—the blazing star of the times?'

Edwards then notices the result of all this multiplication of sects, and of what Bishop Hall called 'the professed slovenliness in God's service;' namely, the great and rapid increase of atheism, profaneness, and blasphemy. 'Divers persons, whom about four years ago were thought as godly as any, were now fallen *to deny all things* in matters of religion, and held nothing, but *laboured to plunder men of their faith*; and that many of these were *vicious in their lives*, as well as heretical in their judgments. . . . . Some divines of the Assembly told me that Mr. Nye had spoken it in their hearing, that, to his knowledge, the denying of the divinity of Christ was a growing opinion.'

In support of these general assertions, Edwards proceeds to give a vast number of particular instances which had come under his own cognisance. *E.g.*: 'This man, about seven or eight years ago, fell off from the communion of our churches to Independency and Brownism, and was much taken with Mr. Robinson's books; . . . . from that he fell to

Anabaptism, and Arminianism, and to Mortalism (holding the soul to be mortal). After that he fell to be a Seeker, and is now an Antiscripturist, a Questionist and Sceptic, and, I fear, an Atheist. He is one of the chief heads of those that deny the Scriptures to be the Word of God, and that question all points of Christian religion.'

This is but one instance, from page upon page of a similar nature; making altogether a most frightful catalogue of the infidelities and vices of the times. This is his conclusion:—

'We may, by this catalogue, see the truth of that spoken of by many divines, both Fathers and modern writers, that *schism makes way to heresy, and separation from the Church to separation from the Head.* Oh, the sad and woful effects of Independency; as in all places wherever it hath been set up (as New England, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Bermudas), so in England, where, within these four years, it hath produced, among persons accounted religious, more damnable heresies, strange opinions, fearful divisions, looseness of life and manners, than ever have been in all the churches of the Presbyterian way above fourscore years. Independency in England is the mother, nurse, and patroness of all other errors.'

Then he shows the cause of all this evil, and prescribes the only remedy which can be effective.

'Small errors at first, and but in a few, grow to be great, and infect many; as one Arius overspread

the world; and a few sectaries five years ago are grown now to many thousands. . . . *We in this may be a warning to all other churches and nations; and are indeed a beacon on fire upon a hill, to teach all to take heed of leaving a church destitute of ecclesiastical government,* and of taking away one before they settle another. I am confident that, if the Parliament had foreseen and known what now they do, what a flood of damnable heresies, errors, blasphemies, and practices are come in upon us since we have been without Church government, they would not have let this Church have been so long without one. . . . The want of ecclesiastical government is the great cause of our heresies, schisms, confusions; and till that be settled, these evils will not be remedied.'

To this evidence of Edwards, who was a Presbyterian, and had no leaning towards the ancient Episcopal model of Church government, I will add the testimony of another eye-witness, Prynne, who was a warm Parliamentarian:—

'Whether that independent government, which some contend for, if positively and fully agreed on, and laid down without disguises, and then duly pondered in the balance of Scripture or right reason, be not of its own nature a very seminary of schisms and dangerous divisions in Church and State? a floodgate to let in an inundation of all manner of heresies, errors, sects, religions, destructive opinions, libertinism and

lawlessness among us, without any sufficient means of preventing or suppressing them when introduced? whether the final result of it (as Master Williams, in his late dangerous licentious book ["A Bloody Tenant"] determines) will not really resolve itself into this detestable conclusion: that every man, whether he be Jew, Turk, Pagan, Papist, Arminian, Anabaptist, &c., ought to be left to his own free liberty of conscience, without any coercion or restraint, to embrace and publicly to profess what religion, opinion, church-government, he pleaseth and conceiveth to be truest, though never so erroneous, false, seditious, detestable in itself? and whether such a government as this ought to be embraced, much less established among us (the sad effects whereof we have already experimentally felt, by the late dangerous increase of many Anabaptistical, Antinomian, heretical, atheistical opinions—as of the soul's mortality, divorce at pleasure, &c.—lately broached, preached, printed in this famous city). I refer to the judgment of all such who have any sparks of love to God, religion, their bleeding, dying, distracted country, flaming in their breasts, or any remainder of right reason residing in their brains, whether the root from which it originally springs (if really searched to the very bottom, and stript of all disguising pretences) be not a Pharisaical, dangerous spiritual pride, vainglorious singularity or self-conceitedness of men's own superlative holiness (as they deem it), which makes them (contrary to the apostle's rule to esteem others better than themselves) to deem themselves

so transcendently holy, sanctified, and religious above others.' *

Edwards, in the 2nd Part of his book, openly asserts that which I have mentioned two or three times already, as the characteristic of sectarianism,—namely, that it is merely political, or rather factious; and that 'conscience' has nothing to do with it. The sacred name of conscience is borrowed now, as it has always been since the earliest ages of Christianity, as a mask or pretext, to cover the latent intentions and secret passions of the leaders of sects. The mass, being perhaps beguiled, may act with sincerity. But the leading men of each sect are not 'conscientious' in their scruples. 'Independency and sectarism in England is a *mere faction, a party* grown to this height upon particular interests, nourished and favoured all *upon politic* grounds and ends; Independency now is *no religious conscientious* business, but a *politic State faction*, severing and dividing itself, upon other private interests, from the public interests of this Church-and-State, and the interest of both kingdoms, united by covenant.' †

We have now brought to a close the account of the Way of the Sectaries during the Rebellion. Let us consider what was gained. They had thrown off the restraints of a National Church, in hopes of securing peace and unity. Instead of peace and unity, the whole Church had been split up into sects;

* *Twelve Considerable Serious Questions touching Church Government*, by Wm. Prynne. 1644

† *Gangræna*, Part II. p. 151.

which were again subdivided and multiplied; until the whole nation was reduced to a crowd of angry disputants and wrangling partisans. They had successfully enforced the plea of 'conscience' and the right of private judgment, against the uniformity which had formerly prevailed in religion. They had expected thus to secure an increase of godliness and spirituality. Yet the result was an increase of atheism and blasphemy, and the growth of lawlessness and licentious practices. Cromwell himself brought this charge against Parliament, in a speech during the year 1655, and there were none to gainsay his assertions:* 'Instead of peace and settlement,—instead of mercy and peace being brought together, and righteousness and peace kissing each other, by your reconciling the honest people of these nations, and settling the woful distempers that are amongst us,—which had been glorious things and worthy of Christians to have proposed,—weeds and nettles, briars and thorns have thriven under your shadow! Dissettlement and division, discontent and dissatisfaction, together with real dangers to the whole, have been more multiplied within these five months of your sitting than in some years before! Foundations have also been laid for the future renewing of the trouble of these nations, by all the enemies of them abroad and at home. . . . . Judge you whether these things were thus or not, when you first sat down. I am sure these things were not thus. There was a very great peace and sedateness throughout

† Cromwell's speech, Jan. 22, 1655.

these nations; and great expectations of a happy settlement.' *

For a few years longer they still endeavoured to put matters straight, without exactly retracing their steps. In 1658 an Independent Synod was held at the Savoy. Dr. John Owen presided. He openly claimed for the chief magistrate a supremacy over the Church—a power to 'punish, restrain, and coerce' those who, under pretence of religion, advanced principles which tended to subvert the established order of things. On this point Marsden remarks, that 'it is evident from his [Dr. Owen's] language that the Independents, *of that day*, regarded the chief magistrate as the secular Head of the Church.' The Independents themselves, after staking all upon that throw; after investing everything in the subversion of the national form of Church and State, and the establishment of the Congregational way [or Americanism]; after wrangling and disputing about it for more than ten years; after having fought and spilt their blood in support of it; at last they openly, in a solemn Synod of their own calling, proclaimed that the Congregational way was a total failure; and then they returned, as well as they could, to the old English form of a National Church. When Richard Cromwell succeeded to the Protectorate, it was Dr. John Owen who was chosen to present the address to the new Protector. He used these remarkable words:—'The Gospel, and the saving truths of it, *being a national endowment*, bequeathed by Christ

* Carlyle, vol. iii. 423, &c.

himself at his ascension, and *committed to the trust of some in the nation's behalf*, ... we look at the magistrate as *custos utriusque tabulæ*, and so commit it to your [Richard Cromwell's] *trust, as our chief magistrate.*' Except that Cromwell's son had succeeded to a Protectorate instead of to a throne, here was an open and undisguised avowal of the necessity of returning to the principles of a National Church.

The Synod of Savoy drew up a Confession of Faith or 'a Discipline.' In the 29th article of it they declared that 'persons sound in the faith, and of conversation becoming the Gospel, though of different reforming Churches, ought not to refuse the communion of each other.' We have also the testimony of the Earl of Nottingham, in his memorial on the state of the nation, to warrant the assertion that, as all the Dissenters (except the Brownists) had communicated in our churches before the time of the civil wars; so also they would have gladly returned to the same practice at the time of the Restoration, if it had not been for the oaths and subscriptions, by which they considered that they were 'cast out of the Church, and afterwards in a manner out of the State.'* There was doubtless a disposition to sink all differences of opinion; to disregard all diversities of doctrine; and to return to the Church on the broad ground of its being a National Church. But the imposition of oaths and subscriptions seemed to them like a compulsory change of opinions. In time, they would not have

* Somers' *Tracts*, III. iv. 145.

regarded them as excommunicatory measures. On their first offer of the right hand of fellowship, however, they were met by conditions and requirements; which were imposed as retaliations by divines, who had indeed too much cause to show for their irritation. To these humiliations the penitents could not submit. The breach, therefore, became wider than ever.

The Sectaries of 1681 (or Dissenters, as they were now called) were very different from the old Nonconformists. They put forward, indeed, the pretexts which the old Nonconformists had borrowed from the Donatists, namely, *want of discipline in the Church, and the right of the people to choose their pastor.* But they, moreover, raised objections to the use of a fixed liturgy; to the aerial sign of a cross; to kneeling at the Communion; to the observance of holy days.* These latter objections were not directed against the national form of Church; not even against the model of Church establishment; nor yet did they relate to points of doctrine. They had to do merely with certain rites and ceremonies. Their dissent was therefore not on political grounds. They pass out of the field of our vision.

The Declaration of 1688 was a declaration of the entire sovereignty of the State. On no other ground could the crown be offered to William. It was a declaration that the law of the land was above everything; even above the King, who is the supreme executive of the State. Being such, it was of course incompatible with Ultramontanism and every other

* Stillingfleet's *Separation*, p. 94.

imperium in imperio. As far as concerns a National Church, this is all that can be said of it. It was the last peak of a nearly submerged idea, barely standing for a few years above the yeasty waves of fluctuating opinions, and the wranglings of ecclesiastical and political parties. A few Whig families had grasped the power, and used every means of corruption to retain it. Preferments in the Church then ceased to be trusts confided to the most trustworthy; they became bribes in the hands of the prime minister, wherewith he bought the support of the powerful. Then the idea of a National Church was forgotten. The nation was split into factions, and the Church into opposing sects.

PART II.

THE UNITED STATES.

At the Restoration, many Puritans quitted England in disgust. Failure in their aim of attaining to pre-eminence in their mother-country, made them expatriate themselves, and become, on another continent, the bitter enemies of their native land. There, upon a virgin soil, with land enough for all, with abundance and wealth to surround them, with no interference to hamper them, no laws to restrain them, no Church to create bitter envyings or the torments of jealousy, they determined to try, anew, the Congregational way; to plant, at last, a real Independency, and live in freedom and Christian love. The experiment was

well devised. There were no disturbing influences; while there was present every condition necessary for success. In the United States, therefore, we can examine and judge of pure Independency and unfettered sectarianism.

Some incidents at the birth of this American Independency have come down to us. It was to become the infant Hercules, that should finally crush all other Churches. It was proper that it should have to strangle a few serpents in its very cradle. It was in New England that Independency first took root. A Mr. Roger Williams, 'teacher' of a congregation at Salem, was held in great esteem for his piety. He was a thorough admirer of the purity of Independency and of the New England Churches. But he was, unfortunately, cursed with honesty and a logical mind. He therefore (says Stillingfleet) 'pursued the principles of that way further than they thought fit.' He held, for instance, that 'there ought to be an unlimited toleration of opinions.' Such a doctrine was highly distasteful to those who had put themselves into places of authority. His tenets and opinions, moreover, were not sufficiently in accordance with those that were then in fashion. He found himself among uncongenial elements; and had no hesitation in determining to separate himself from them. He therefore at once began to gather around him an opposition Church. This move created a great disturbance in high quarters. The magistrates [the *civil* power] sent for him. The other ministers [the spiritual power]

only 'reasoned the case with him.' He retorted upon them, that he was but following the example which they themselves had set him, and could not, therefore, be blamed by them. The ecclesiastical authority now came down upon him with all its terrors. 'Mr. Cotton told him they deserved to be punished who made separation among them.' The prisoner answered, fairly enough, that "this would return upon themselves, for, had they not done the same to the Church of *Old* England?' As Williams remained obdurate, the *civil power* condemned him as a *heretic*, and decreed a sentence of banishment against him. This sentence was 'justified by the Churches.' Mr. Cotton, however, showed more jauntiness than ecclesiastical severity when he pronounced this direful sentence. These were Mr. Cotton's words: 'That the increase of concourse of people to him on the Lord's-day, in private . . . provoked the magistrates, rather than to breed a winter's spiritual plague *in* the country, to put him upon a winter's journey *out* of the country.' 'This (Mr. Williams replied) was falling into the *National Church way*, which they had disowned; or else, *why must he that is banished from the one* [the Church] *be banished from the other* [the State] *also?*' Thus these Independents, who, in England a short time before, had loudly arrogated to themselves the right to separate, now arrogantly denied the same liberty to Roger Williams. We shall see presently that they permitted no Quaker, no Anabaptist, no one who held different opinions, to dwell among them.

They had already clearly discovered by experience that the Congregational way would not do, and tried by all means to get rid of it. There were two other ministers, Gorton and Clark, who had begun to make an impression and attract hearers around them. They, too, 'had their mouths stopped and their persons banished.' These proceedings drove Williams to a most logical resolution; namely, that he would dissolve his society, and that 'every one should have liberty to worship God according to the light of his own conscience.'

(1) Now, the first obvious remark which will be made, is the double tyranny and restraint to which all the clergy, in this Independent way, are subjected. A double tyranny,—oppression from above; and from below, a grinding fear of the congregation. To this day bitter complaints are made of the woful want of independence in the preachers. They are, says Dr. Döllinger (quoting from Dr. Channing, Colton, Mines, and many others),* 'the victims of a tyranny exercised frequently by the low and ignorant; and that to an extent such as has never hitherto been known. As a rule, the confidence and presumption with which the representatives of the congregation bear themselves towards their preacher, stand in an inverse ratio to their amount of mental culture.'

(2) And secondly, it may be asked whether these Independents really mean to declare that, in each

* Döllinger, *The Church and Churches*, 246; Channing's *Works*, v. 317; Colton, 138; Mines, 291, &c.

congregation, every point of order, discipline, and doctrine is to be determined by the majority; and whether the minority are, or are not to submit, and be bound by the expressed will of the majority? If they answer in the affirmative, they condemn their own practices. For why, then, should not the majority of the nation also determine what model of ecclesiastical government they will establish; what doctrine shall be taught; and what rites and ceremonies shall be performed? Why should not they and their Independent Churches submit to the will of the majority? But, on the other hand, if they answer in the negative, then was Williams in the right, and they in the wrong. Society must, in that case, be dissolved, and every one must be his own priest and his own theologian; there may not be any church, nor any congregation, nor any public prayer; no preaching, no common education, no teaching at all. Bacon is a safer guide than the settlers in America. The advice he gives in his 'Wise and Moderate Discourse'* is far more wise and moderate than anything the Independents have so noisily urged: 'Lastly, whatsoever be pretended, the people is no meet judge or arbitrator; but rather the moderate, quiet, and private assemblies of the learned. Qui apud incapacem loquitur, non disceptat, sed calumniatur.'

There is another topic which may well be touched upon before we proceed, in order that it may be

* *A Wise and Moderate discourse concerning Church affairs, as it was written long since by the famous author of these Considerations, &c., and now published for the Common Good.* 1641.

borne in mind during the investigation which follows. Those who are informed that they are at liberty to select what religion they prefer, will argue that, a fortiori, they have a right to choose what government they please. If they can judge of their parson's doctrines, they surely can dictate their ruler's policy. If they may control the Church's authority, they may resist their sovereign's acts. If they may separate from a National Church and set up an opposition worship, they certainly have a better right to 'revolve,' and declare themselves a republic. Men who are loose as to their church become seditious in the state and lax in their morality. This was a fact of which Prynne had, by experience, become painfully conscious. He enforced it repeatedly in his writings. For instance, in his 'Independency Unmasked': 'Through defect of a severe coercive power in ecclesiastical synods, parliaments, and temporal magistrates, we shall have almost as many several heresies, sects, and churches as there are families and persons. Yea, if they thus admit every minister or secular person to have a "divine right"-freedom to set up such an independent church government as he pleaseth—then, by the self-same reason, they must have a like liberty to elect or erect what civil form of government they please; to set up a new independent republic, corporation, kingdom, or magistracy in every family, parish, city, or county; and to *cast off* all former civil governors, governments, and laws at pleasure, as well as ecclesiastical; there being the self-same grounds both of obligation, obedience

to, and exemption from the one as the other.' This was not mere theory; he appealed to facts. Yet his judgment on this matter, even if there were not the facts to support him, would certainly carry great weight. He was a man well esteemed in his day. He is well known even now. He was chosen out by the House of Commons to draw up the evidence against Laud, and to manage the trial which ended in Laud's decapitation. In his 'Sword of Christian Magistracy,' *addressed to the House of Commons*, he writes, 'I beseech your honours seriously to look about and consider whether Lilburne, Overton, and other seducing sectaries (whom John Goodwin and Mr. Dell usually style saints), be not more openly, professedly, and transcendentally guilty than Canterbury, of undermining and subverting our established religion, church, laws, and government, of purpose to bring in a more arbitrary and tyrannical government, even a popularity or mere anarchy in Church and State; to subvert not only monarchy and magistracy, but our Religion, Church, and Ministry too.' In proof of this assertion he appeals to the great numbers of 'mutinous and treasonable libels,' against the House of Commons and against the Peers, which the Independents had published; and the seditious writings, calculated to render the people dissatisfied with the legislature, which the Independents had industriously disseminated. The history of every quarter of the globe brings its silent testimony to prove this assertion. Wesley gives his evidence, as an eye and ear witness of the facts which occurred in America. He declared

that 'very many years before the revolt of the American colonies, there was a disposition to throw off their dependence upon England, founded, not upon any alleged grievance, but upon the feeling of repulsion which necessarily exists against monarchy, wherever the system of independency in religion prevails.'* Independency is democratical religion. The same setting up of one-self as superior to law (which constitutes that which, in *modern times*, is called democracy in the State) is the cause of Independency, or what has been designated as 'individualism,' in the Church. Therefore it is that they always appear in company.

From the year 1650 until the Restoration, the Puritan government of Massachusetts endeavoured, by the severest and most oppressive means, to preserve a unity in opinion and discipline.† Judge Story (himself a New England man) testified that 'the persecution which drove the Puritans out of England might be considered as great lenity and indulgence in comparison' to the laws on the subject of religion which were put in force by the Puritans of this colony.‡ If any man, for instance, denied that the State had a right to enforce attendance at their Independent worship, he was instantly put in the public stocks. In Connecticut there were the famous 'Blue Laws.' Under these laws no Quaker, no member of the Church of England, no person who, to the least degree, differed in opinion from the Independency which the govern-

* *Church and Dissent*, p. 140. † Caswall's *American Church*, p. 47.
‡ See Caswall, p. 33.

ment professed, could give a vote, or even enjoy the rights of a freeman. It was strictly forbidden to grant a lodging or even to sell any food to a Quaker 'or other heretic.' Whoever turned Quaker or heretic was to be banished for his apostacy. If he ever afterwards were seen in the country, he was to be put to death for the offence. No man was permitted to walk in his garden, and no mother might even kiss her children on the Sabbath-day; and so forth. Throughout New England, when the Churchmen claimed exemption from the payments which used to be exacted in support of Puritanism, they were ruthlessly hurried off to gaol. Nay, whenever Churchmen ventured to show themselves as such, they were compelled to suffer every kind of insult and annoyance at the hands of the dominant party.* Quakers were put in cages; they were whipped at carts' tails; they had their ears cropped, their tongues bored; they were sold as slaves; they were hung. In Boston, in the year 1659, some were even burnt alive for being Quakers.

Yet all this severity on the part of the Puritan rulers could not prevent the continual breeding of new schisms and multiplied subdivisions. Cotton Mather described *Rhode Island* settlement, which was incorporated in 1644, as 'a colluvies of Antinomians, Familists, Socinians, Quakers, Ranters, and everything but Roman Catholics and true Christians; *bona terra, mala gens.*' † All these divisions and subdivisions, schisms and heresies, contradictions of

* See Caswall, p. 50. † *Ibid.* p. 43.

opposing sects, assertions and counter-assertions, denials, confutations, repudiations, aspersions on personal character, maligning, open abuse, and secret tale-bearing between the sects, might well be expected to produce coldness and indifference as to all religion, and dislike of every real bond of union between man and man. This speedily came to pass in the American colonies.* Bishop Berkeley said, 'There was but little sense of religion and a most notorious corruption of manners in the English colonies settled on the continent of America.' From the very first settlement of the country that became the condition in which the Puritan States of *New England* found themselves.

In some parts of the English colonies, however, the Church of England was established. In New York, not one-tenth of the population had professed to be members of the Church of England. Queen Anne, however, endowed the Church with land in that State. The consequence was, that in 1761 the professed members of the Church of England amounted to one-fourth of the population. This increase had taken place in spite of the numerous animosities and jealousies on the part of Presbyterians, Puritans, *et hoc genus omne.*† The glebe lands of Trinity Church alone, which lay on Manhattan Island, were so extensive, and increased so rapidly in value, that after the rebellion, (writes Wilson,)‡ 'the State Legislature limited them to a capital producing

* See Caswall, p. 255 *et passim.* † *Ibid.* p. 22.
‡ *Historical Sketch of Opinions*, New York, 1817, p. 64.

an annual revenue of 5,000*l.* Their estate, however, produced much more; and they devoted all that exceeded the specified amount, to the building and endowment of new churches.' Why did this endowed church increase and spread so much more rapidly than the various sects by which it was surrounded? Why did it cover the land with church-buildings, while the sects were struggling hopelessly among themselves? Is this due to the superiority of an endowment to that no-church system which I have called Americanism? This is a question which the congregationalists should ask themselves. And secondly; how was it that the State Legislature of New York was asked to break the fundamental rule of Americanism and interfere *circa sacra*? If the Established Church had become formidable through an endowment, was that any reason why the power and authority of the '*civil* magistrate' should be exerted in '*spiritual* matters'? This act on the part of the State-Legislature proclaimed the failure of the fundamental principles of the sectaries.

New Jersey was a Quaker and Puritan settlement. Numerous Scotch Covenanters settled there in 1683; yet in 1761 one-sixth of the population were professed members of the endowed Church of England.*

Pennsylvania was settled by the Quakers in 1682. Yet the relative numbers of the Quakers rapidly decreased, owing to the want of a fixed liturgy. In *Philadelphia* the Quakers settled at the same time. Until 1695 it did not contain a single Church of

* Caswall, p. 23.

England church. In that year the first church was built; yet in 1761 one-fourth of the population professed to be members of the Church of England. Now let us look at the other side of the picture.

Carolina was settled in 1663. By the ninety-sixth article of its Constitution it declared its religion to be that of the Church of England, as being '*the national religion of all the king's dominions.*' Most of the southern colonies differed from the New England colonies in their warm adherence to the Church of England. *Virginia* was settled in 1619. The State Assembly fixed the payment of the clergy at 200*l.* a year in maize and tobacco. One hundred acres in every borough were moreover set apart as glebe land. In 1624 the State Assembly decreed a complete uniformity with the Church of England. The result was that, during the rebellion a few years after, Virginia remained loyal to her king. *Maryland* was entirely a Roman Catholic settlement in the year 1632. In 1702 a law was passed, by the State Legislature, giving to every minister of the Church of England forty pounds of tobacco *per poll*, to be collected by the sheriff.*

Before the rebellion broke out in America, however, they had left the National Church form for the Way of the Sectaries. The several parish vestries had assumed the right of inducting the clergy. Then the ministers became more and more under the sway of their congregations. Dissent was therefore multiplied. In Maryland, as well as elsewhere, the State

* Caswall.

Legislature interfered, even, to put the clergy under the dominion of their congregations. For all the revolutionists hated the Church of England, as being the great obstacle to their subversive schemes. When the desire for revolution spread and became the fashion, those who courted popularity (who, in the United States and elsewhere, are many) saw that the most advantageous course was to desert the Church. That was the practice. How did it tally with the principles of the great man of the rebellion, whom all Americans adore? Washington, in his last address to the United States, on declining reelection to the office of chief magistrate, bore his testimony, (the fruit of bitter experience,) to the importance of a Church Establishment in preventing the religion of a people from dwindling to nothing: 'Of all dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and of citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connection with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked: Where is the security for property, for reputation, or for life, if a sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded

to the influence of a refined education on minds of a peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle. . . . In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.' Dr. Dwight, who is an authority of weight with Nonconformists, asserts that, in those parts of the United States where religion had at one time been established, there the moral sense of the people, and the general welfare of the public have visibly increased; while, on the other hand, in those districts where religion had been congregational, and had been left to voluntary efforts, there atheism had spread and profligate habits have prevailed.

From the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Puritans of New England had turned to the Church of England in large numbers.* When the American Revolution was terminated, several young men went to England, and applied for ordination to Dr. Lowth, the Bishop of London. It was, however, contrary to the fundamental laws of England to ordain any one who was not one of the nation, and therefore not a member of the Church. No one could receive ordination who could not take the oaths of supremacy and of allegiance to the king—the Head of the National Church. The Bishop of London, before he could comply with the request, had to apply to Parliament for a special Act to permit him to do

* Caswall, p. 70.

this. Seabury came over also, to be consecrated as bishop. But finding that he had to wait for an Act of Parliament, he went to Scotland, and was consecrated by some bishops of the episcopal sect in Scotland. Episcopacy not being the National Church in Scotland, is merely an *imperium in imperio*, and can therefore be ultramontane. There was no impediment to their ordaining and consecrating for other nations.

In 1787 two persons were consecrated in England. This was done in virtue of the Permissive Act, which had been passed to authorise episcopal consecration for foreign countries. So little of an aggressive or ultramontane church had the Church of England been until that time! So closely had it preserved the National form, although the spirit of a National Church had been somewhat dormant.*

In October, 1784, a synod of the Episcopal Church of America was held at New York. There a decree was passed, ordaining that the doctrines and liturgy of the Church of England should be strictly maintained. They also adhered to the principle of the cooperation of clergy and laity;† and it was settled that each State should meet in its own church-convention. This answered to the provincial synods of former days in England. An address was also voted at this synod of New York, to the hierarchy of England. In this address they noticed the fact that *they had been cut off from the Church of England by the civil revolution*; for they, being now an independent nation, could no longer be members of the

* Mosheim, v. 437. † Caswall, p. 127.

National Church of England. Yet they retained the liturgy intact. They held the same doctrines. They had adopted the Thirty-nine Articles, even, without the alteration of a single syllable.* Their bishops had been consecrated in London. Yet all their divines agreed that it was another Church, because it was in another nation.

They have preserved our parochial, diocesan, and general organization. A parish is a corporation, according to their law, just as it is according to ours. To their Book of Common Prayer they have carefully appended a solemn declaration, that they have not departed from the Church of England in 'doctrine, discipline, or worship.'† Yet the Preface to that Prayer-book announces that 'when, in the course of Divine Providence, these States became independent with respect to *civil government*, their ecclesiastical independence was *necessarily included*.'

There have, however, crept in some important differences. The vestry elects its minister; the diocese chooses its bishop; the supreme executive of the State is not also the head of the church. The Church is not the State: it is an *imperium in imperio*.

Mr. Charles Berry, a Socinian preacher (quoted by Professor Gibson in his essay on 'The Principle of Voluntary Churches proved to be the Origin of Romish and priestly Domination'), in a published sermon, acknowledges the little progress which

* Mosheim. † Caswall, p. 159.

Socinian doctrines had made in England, '*because of the enormous influence of a wealthy establishment.*' He adds: 'But in the United States, where there are no obstructions to the progress of knowledge and truth, the spread of liberal doctrines (i.e., Socinian or infidel) has exceeded our most sanguine expectations.' 'No obstructions to the progress of knowledge and truth'! and 'the spread of *liberal* doctrines,' forsooth! Bacon has remarked that the sickness of a man's body is not nearly so bad a thing or so incurable as the disease of a nation; for, when a man has pain, he knows it; but, in a nation, when the whole heart is sick, and the whole body politic is full of wounds and bruises and putrifying sores, the people always imagine that they never were in a more flourishing condition—never in better national health and general strength; never possessed of more wisdom, knowledge, and virtue. The disease in America has broken out into very palpable wounds and bruises now. No one would at present accuse the North of wisdom, nor even of liberal doctrines.

This war is a very sore point, however, on which I will not touch. I will take the period immediately preceding the war. At that time they vaunted themselves very loudly and proudly of their civilisation and prosperity. Then they looked down upon their slow old church-going mother, England, with great scorn. Let us therefore take that time, and investigate whether it was the 'progress of truth' or the growth of error which was 'obstructed' there. Whether the soil of that No-Church land of America

was then luxuriant with rich vegetation, or dense with rankest weeds. In conducting this inquiry, I must use the testimony of others; I will not let a single jot or iota rest upon my own assertion. For every one—and a nation more than any man—likes to hear pleasant and smooth things. Every nation and every man likes to lay 'a flattering unction' to his soul. And what men like to hear, they are quick to believe. But the Gordian knot of that which is distasteful and humiliating, they cut in style which is gratifying to their pride;—it is simply pooh-poohed. In order that what I have to say concerning the Federal States may not be pooh-poohed, I shall let them tell their own tale. I will take four authoritative publications of theirs, of as late a date as possible previous to the commencement of the present disturbances. From them I will show the normal state of society in those States: I will then deduce therefrom the nature and character of the experiment which has been carried on in that country, for our instruction and warning, here in England.

I will first give in evidence some extracts from the

THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY, MAY 11, 1859.

'In stating the admitted fact that at least one-third of our population habitually neglect the preaching of a true Gospel, and are therefore hastening unreconciled to the judgment-bar, we but half present to the Christian heart a thought which should move that heart to its depths. The saddest

aspect of this fact is, that *many ten thousands of of these unenvangelized ones have no Gospel preaching within their reach, no one to warn them of a coming judgment, or invite them to a gracious Saviour —no book, no Bible. . . . . That wide numerous perishing destitutions do now exist, destitutions of a preached gospel, of a printed gospel, of the living epistles as read in the holy lives of pious men—that myriads of youth are growing up in our land without ever hearing a gospel sermon—that in* many places where a few Christians have located, there is "a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the word of the Lord"—that in these wastes, IGNORANCE, VICE, AND INFIDELITY PREVAIL; and *that great multitudes of these souls will be lost eternally unless some outgoing, aggressive, personal, persevering effort be made to reach them, is too sadly true to admit of a question.* Nor less true nor less sad is the fact that many *might* hear the gospel who utterly neglect it, and who will never hear it unless it is *carried to them and urged upon them.*'

STATISTICS FOR THE LAST YEAR.—'That in *visiting only one-eighth of our population* there should have been found 445,690 *souls destitute of the divine Record* is a fact as startling as it is sad. There is revealed in another column the still stronger fact that in this land of a free press, with its multitudinous wide-spread issues, there should be found in one single year, and by a few colporteurs, 44,996 families, or 224,980 *souls, without a single page of religious truth*

in their hands to warn them of a coming judgment, and point them to a gracious Saviour.'

CONNECTICUT AND RHODE ISLAND.—'NEARLY ONE HALF THE POPULATION OF THESE STATES ARE RARELY PRESENT IN ANY SANCTUARY OF GOD. *They are rarely sought out, rarely addressed on the great subject of the soul's salvation.*'

NEW YORK AND CANADA WEST.—'There is reason to believe that *from one-third to one-half of the whole population* maintain no regular attendance upon the means of grace. The official census of the State presents a still darker picture than this, giving the amount of church accommodation as sufficient for only two-thirds of the population, and one-third only as regular attendants on divine worship.'

'I have found an *unusual amount of destitution and irreligion*, and whole settlements that entirely neglect the sanctuary: modern Spiritualism and Universalism have blinded the people; and many have become the victims of these delusions.'

'While few will acknowledge that they habitually neglect attending some religious meeting on the Sabbath, it is apparent that not one-half the community at large attend regularly.' . . . A German colporteur says, '*About three-fourths attend no evangelical preaching.*' . . . 'Two-thirds of the entire population on my field, which is about thirty thousand,' writes another, 'are very irregular in their attendance on evangelical preaching, or neglect it altogether.' 'Judging the most favourably,' says another, 'I think that not more than one-half of the people attend

worship, and many of these only occasionally; probably not more than one-third are regular attendants.'

PENNSYLVANIA.—'From one-third to one-half habitually neglect evangelical preaching.'

OHIO.—'Two-fifths neglect the house of God.'

'About one-third of the neglecters could not attend evangelical preaching, as they have not the opportunity.'

'*Hundreds of thousands are living on the territory occupied by this branch, without Sabbath and sanctuary influences, without the pastor*, with no one to care for their souls. The field, it is true, is not self-sustaining. This, however, affords no plea for neglecting it, or diminishing expenditure needed for its cultivation. *To mete out the bread of life to such communities only as can or will bear the pecuniary expenditure involved*, is a principle of action, the legitimate operation of which would make the very existence of this Society a questionable subject, would cut the sinews of every benevolent enterprise, paralyze the aggressive energies of the Church, and lead to the abandonment of all strictly missionary efforts.'

I pass now to a little book which was sent to me from New York, along with the others. It is called 'Our Country, A Plea for Home Missions. New York, 1859.' The writer or compiler of it, after highly eulogising the Way of the Sectaries of Old England in the seventeenth century (viz. Independency at the time of the Commonwealth), hazards this assertion: 'So far as that religious system, of our Puritan

fathers prevails, so far will this American people retain their power of expanding themselves over the earth.' Yet he, almost in the same breath, bears the following important testimony.*

'OHIO.—THERE ARE TWENTY POPULOUS COUNTIES WHERE THERE ARE NONE WHO WORK WITH US. In eight other counties the *ratio of Church members* in our connection to the population *is only one in* 341. On the whole field of this agency, there are but 115 churches and 71 ministers for 1,296,000 inhabitants—with *a ratio of but one church member to* 158 *of the population* . . . Of 115 churches, but 43 are self-supporting, while the 72 are still feeble and receiving aid from the Society . . . To place one minister in each of our 744 townships, would require an immediate supply of 673 ministers more than are now in the work.' †

'We give, first, statements of the destitutions in Iowa and in Ohio, which are somewhat more full than those relating to the other States, and which, besides, may be viewed as, in a general way, illustrative of the condition, the one of the newer, the other of the older portions of the missionary field.' ‡

'IOWA.—We have between thirty and forty Congregational and Presbyterian churches, that ought to be immediately supplied with ministers.'

'If the statements here given are in accordance with the facts of the case, what Iowa *wants* is an

* It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that congregations are denoted by the word 'churches.' 'Church-member,' also, means merely a worshipper, and does not refer to any established church.

† *Plea for Home Missions*, New York, 1859, p. 52. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 47.

addition of *more than one hundred men* to our ministerial force within her bounds.' *

'INDIANA.—At present there are about 150 Constitutional, Presbyterian, and Congregational churches in Indiana; and *many of these are so feeble as scarcely to have a name to live.* To supply these churches, and to make further aggression upon the kingdom of darkness, there are *sixty-five ministers*, giving themselves wholly to the work of the sacred office. *More than half the counties have no resident Presbyterian, or Congregational minister.* (The population is 1,200,000.) . . . *Very many of the feeble churches of the West are in populous, vigorous, growing communities, where* NOTHING BUT IRRELIGION OR DIVISION *could keep the congregations from being numerous, and where nothing less than the combination of the two could keep them so small as they are.*' †

The writer then, after lauding everything American in the most extravagant terms continues (p. 46):—'Indeed, *we can hardly contemplate the present character of our people without dismay.* In high places and low, among officers of state, in circles of wealth, over broad regions of rich farms and plantations, and in centres of trade, we seem to find a TERRIBLE CORRUPTION—AN APPALLING FAITHLESSNESS, VENALITY, AND BOLDNESS IN WRONG DOING. When we begin to enquire into the circumstances which explain the possibility of these things, we discover *alarming religious destitutions*, destitutions which amount to

* *Plea for Home Missions*, 1859, p. 50.
† *Plea for Home Missions*, 1858.

something worse than mere want—*to an obstacle, and even an hostility*—the destitutions and the wickedness mutually aggravating each other.'

'*The religious welfare of the community is, with the majority, the object least regarded, and cared for last.* This eagerness for gain absorbs the mind and heart of the people, exhausts their energies and their enthusiasm, and gives to the whole movement of society *an irreligious bias.*' *

'Western communities experience the evils of *a liberty which is license.* There, restless and overconfident spirits are *free from the restraints of a long-established order*; and those who are careless and mercenary no longer feel it necessary to pay an outward deference to principles which they secretly dislike or contemn. THE VARIOUS FORMS OF UNBELIEF AND OF FANATICISM MAKE EASY CONQUESTS; and in some districts even the religion that is honoured by the multitude IS MORE FRUITFUL OF INFIDELITY than of piety.'†

According to their own account, the way of the sectaries has been as great a failure in America in these days, as it was in England at the time of the Commonwealth. So far from being an engine for spreading religion, and inculcating morality, the sense of right has been nearly lost; the people have become degraded, irreligious, and infidel. I now pass to still later evidence, namely, 'the Thirty-fifth Report of the American Tract Society, for the year 1860.'

'Actual knowledge gained while traversing diffe-

* *Plea for Home Missions*, New York, 1859, p. 78.
† *Ibid.* 1859, p. 80.

rent counties, enables me to state that there is a very large class of people in the territory visited, *who will not, if they could, go to the house of God*; that there is also a large class who cannot, if they would, hear the Gospel preached . . . During the past fourteen years I have found multitudes who were in the most deplorable condition as to the means of grace, and many of whom said to me, "*You are the only person who has ever visited us for a religious purpose*;" and often this has been said with tears of gratitude.'

'Although I have been labouring *in one of the best counties of the State*, and where there are many churches, I still find that *a majority of the people habitually neglect evangelical preaching*; MORE THAN ONE QUARTER OF THEM ARE ENTIRELY DESTITUTE OF RELIGIOUS READING, and are not visited by any Christian until the colporteur calls on them. Some had NEVER HEARD THE VOICE OF PRAYER until they heard the colporteur.' *

There is 'a *total destitution* of religious literature in 43,478 families visited (while doubtless a far larger number were almost equally destitute); 28,740 FAMILIES HAD NOT EVEN A COPY OF THE WORD OF GOD. 96,794 *families altogether neglect the preaching of the Gospel.*' This is the ratio out of a total of only 629,952 families visited.† 'That *most alarming destitutions do abound* in city and country cannot be doubted.'

'In the larger cities, and in the older States, where

* *Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the American Tract Society*, 1860, p. 80.

† *Ibid.* p. 43.

Gospel institutions are most numerous and most stable, very many utterly neglect the great salvation. Facts well authenticated show that even in New England, where the Gospel has been long and faithfully preached, there are many thousands who never visit the house of God, and to whom the message of mercy must be carried if they ever hear it. Ministers in the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Massachusetts, affirm that not more than one-half of the people in those States ever attend the churches, not above one-third with any regularity, and *only one-fourth* constantly; that in these four states there are 2,000,000 people outside of the church every Sabbath.' *

'If this be true of the older States, how much greater must the destitutions be in the Middle and Southern, and how fearfully great in the sparsely settled States and Territories of our Western border! We do not err in affirming that AT LEAST ONE-THIRD OF OUR ENTIRE POPULATION—FROM EIGHT TO TEN MILLIONS OF SOULS—ARE UNREACHED BY THE ORDINARY MEANS OF GRACE.' †

'NEW YORK.—A hundred thousand families were visited by this agency in the last twelve months, of whom over 16,000 habitually neglect the services of the Lord's house, and that too *in this State of New York*, where but a small proportion of that number are so situated as not to be able to reach some place of worship if "the spirit was willing." Look at 7,080

* *Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the American Tract Society*, 1860, p. 39.

† *Ibid.* p. 39.

families *without a religious book in the house, being one-fifteenth of the whole number visited.* LOOK AT 4,503 FAMILIES WITHOUT A BIBLE IN THIS BIBLE-BLESSED COUNTRY!'*

'NORTH CAROLINA.—In the 56 counties I made 2,356 family visits. I was told by 614 families that they never had a religious visit and prayer before, most of whom were not members of any church; 134 were destitute of the Bible, and 371 without all other religious books.'† 'I visited 25 families in two days, only four of whom ever had a religious visit before; 19 were entirely destitute of religious books; 13 habitually neglected church, which was about six miles distant.'‡ 'A majority of the people, so far as I can see or learn, do not attend church, and are not reached by the usual Christian means. Of the 900 families visited this year, I think I can safely say there is NOT MORE THAN ONE-SIXTH THAT BELONG TO ANY CHURCH.' §

'FROM CHARLESTON.—I have supplied hundreds of families with the Bible, who perhaps would never have possessed one had it not been carried to their door.' ‖

'FROM NEW ORLEANS.—*One-fourth care not for, nor would attend, any means of grace*; and another fourth have not the opportunity; leaving one-half to be supplied by the preached truth, from a scattered ministry of *all* grades of qualification.' ¶

'Rev. J. E——, ALABAMA, says: I have visited 663 families, embracing 3,789 souls, of whom 1,745 could read, and 889 were professors of religion; 157

* *Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the American Tract Society*, 1860, p. 77.
† *Ibid.* p. 102. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 103. § *Ibid.* p. 107.
‖ *Ibid.* p. 108. ¶ *Ibid.* p. 113.

were destitute of the Bible, and 317 had no other religious book.'*

'FROM ST. LOUIS.—*The number of families visited at their own homes*, 46,169; *families destitute of all religious books except the Bible*, 4,939; *destitute of the Bible*, 2,502; *habitually neglecting evangelical preaching*, 10,854; to these last numbers should be added 2,811 Roman Catholic families.'†

'FROM SOUTHERN MISSOURI.—In the country there is generally preaching *once a month;* few attend oftener. The *sermons* are frequently *harangues by untaught men*, designed rather to produce immediate excitement than to instruct the mind or benefit the heart. The churches are not filled, nor are the preachers all evangelical; and *as a matter of fact, only a tenth of the people on my field hear the word of life.* And *very few would have any religious books* unless they were carried to their houses.'‡

'FROM SOUTHERN ILLINOIS.—ALARMING DESTITUTION.—Mr. W. G. B—— writes: In visiting 1,007 families, I found 454 habitually neglecting evangelical preaching, 306 destitute of all good books except the Bible, and 132, all Protestant families, destitute of the Bible.'§

'FROM IOWA.—*The people do not generally enjoy the regular ministrations of the word*, or the established means of education. Many never went to school, and can neither read nor write. Many never attend church, and *some never heard a sermon.*'‖

'FROM CINCINNATI.—Another writes from H——

* *Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the American Tract Society*, 1860, p. 115.
† *Ibid.* p. 116. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 117. § *Ibid.* p. 118. ‖ *Ibid.* p. 121.

county, Ohio: In the portion of the county I have visited, not more than one-half of the inhabitants attend public worship regularly. ISMS AND SCHISMS PREVAIL TO A LAMENTABLE EXTENT, from Romanism down to Spiritualism and rank Free-loveism. I found an old man residing in the north-west part of the county, an avowed follower of Tom Paine, who boasted that he could count near him a hundred proselytes to his views, made by the circulation of infidel books. He *longed for the time to come when the Bible should be banished and the Sabbath abolished.* Another colporteur reports that one-third of the families in his field do not attend preaching of any kind.' *

'FROM KENTUCKY.—Probably more than THREE-FOURTHS OF THE HEADS OF FAMILIES PROFESSING CHRISTIANITY OMIT REGULAR FAMILY WORSHIP. A brother who laboured a few days the past year, reported one-fourth of the families destitute of religious books, and one-ninth of them without the Bible.† These destitutions were found in a county

* *Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the American Tract Society, May* 1860, p. 126.

† Table taken from the Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the American Tract Society, May 1860, p. 63.

States	Families destitute of Bible.	Families habitually neglecting evangelical preaching	Whole number families visited
Vermont	21	30	489
Massachusetts	24	160	354
Rhode Island	11	501	1,744
Connecticut	20	229	925
New York	4,988	19,966	112,193
New Jersey	238	2,355	11,895
Pennsylvania	6,509	13,101	77,256
Delaware	—	8	505
Maryland	2,224	7,163	29,511
District of Columbia	159	511	2,696
Virginia	1,589	3,195	27,681
	15,783	47,219	265,249

which has been thoroughly canvassed twice since 1847 by a colporteur of the American Tract Society,

States	Families destitute of Bible	Families habitually neglecting evangelical preaching	Whole number families visited
Brought over	15,783	47,219	265,249
North Carolina	788	1,745	20,012
South Carolina	633	901	10,405
Georgia	28	925	10,111
Alabama	324	660	6,760
Mississippi	89	53	2,360
Louisiana	825	3,413	23,500
Texas	489	1,437	8,787
Arkansas	202	414	3,157
Tennessee	395	1,109	11,344
Kentucky	641	1,879	11,247
Ohio	799	4,045	36,366
Indiana	1,028	3,644	22,191
Michigan	635	4,366	22,975
Illinois	1,140	4,059	29,317
Missouri	1,675	6,525	28,394
Iowa	159	1,434	5,186
Wisconsin	537	2,858	15,788
Minnesota	17	63	582
Kansas	41	125	325
Oregon	—	—	501
Choctaw nation	2	5	27
Canada	373	1,349	10,812
Total	26,857	88,228	545,396

Summary by Students for Vacations, 1859-60.

Maine	66	179	648
Rhode Island	26	83	864
Connecticut	1	28	554
New York	288	1,459	13,168
New Jersey	92	1,128	10,897
Pennsylvania	451	3,082	31,976
Delaware	21	173	716
Maryland	32	58	1,515
Virginia	215	391	4,697
South Carolina	53	4	617
Mississippi	6	19	549
Arkansas	138	—	676
Tennessee	1	—	120
Kentucky	118	103	2,010
Ohio	194	751	7,351
Indiana	71	503	3,359
Michigan	—	12	520
Illinois	27	328	1,511
Missouri	48	34	418
Canada	35	231	2,360
Total	1,883	8,566	81,556
Total by colportours and students	28,740	96,794	629,952

and in which two Bible agents have also spent considerable time since that period.'*

So much for details and particular localities. Truly the American Tract Society are well warranted in the tone of despondency which they assume in reviewing the whole country. 'THUS, WHEREVER WE LOOK, WHICHEVER WAY WE TURN, WE ARE MET BY THE OUTSTANDING AND OVERSHADOWING FACT *that multitudes of our people, perhaps the bulk of the whole population, are not brought directly under the influence of the sanctuary and public worship*, but are living in fearful separation from the Gospel.' † 'THE MOST RECKLESS SPIRIT OF INNOVATION "RAVES, RECITES, AND MADDENS ROUND THE LAND." *Nothing is so venerable that it escapes the restless mania for tampering and tinkering, and pulling down and destroying.* And yet it seems to me that this rage for disorganising would find itself rebuked, if people would only study the past.' ‡ 'I know of no mode of enlisting the evangelical churches in this section, in missionary and aggressive labour to reach the destitute and careless beyond the bounds of their own congregations. . . It is impracticable, so far as my experience goes, to enlist the churches to any extent in the work of home colportage. . . . Some churches have undertaken the work heretofore, in part, but the effort soon languished and died.' §

Lastly, I give in corroboration, just one short

* *Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the American Tract Society*, 1860, p. 131.

† *Ibid.* p. 134.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 341.

§ *Ibid.* p. 81.

quotation from another publication, called 'The American Tract Society to its friends, October 1860.'

'By the census of 1850 there were, in the six New-England States, 62 counties, with a population of 2,728,116, of whom it is estimated that one-third, or 909,372, are shut out from the ordinary means of grace.' . . . '*From one-third to one-half of the whole population* maintain no regular attendance upon the means of grace.'

'WESTERN NEW YORK.—From the best of my judgment I should think that one-half of the entire population neglect evangelical preaching.' Another says "two-thirds." A German colporteur says: "*About three-fourths attend no evangelical preaching.*"*

'An officer in the PENNSYLVANIA BRANCH says: "*Hundreds of thousands* are living on the territory occupied by this branch without Sabbath and sanctuary privileges without the pastor, with no one to care for their souls." Another writes: "About one-half of the people have *no preaching to attend. Some towns have none at all.*" †

'VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA.—Another writes: "MY FIELD HAS A POPULATION OF ABOUT 18,000. ABOUT 1,000 OF THIS NUMBER GO TO CHURCH REGULARLY, BUT NOT *more than* 200 *of them are actively engaged in the cause of religion.*' ‡

The following is the abstract given in the 'Religious Aspect in America,' (quoted in the Rev. W. C.

* *The American Tract Society to its Friends, Oct.* 1860, p. 15.
† *Ibid.* p. 16. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 20.

Magee's most excellent pamphlet on 'the Voluntary Principle.')

The total number of Church Buildings . . .		42,359
Number of Ministers ..	29,430	of all denominations.
„ Licentiates .	14,068	
„ Members .	4,176,431	
Population		27,000,000

That is to say, there are 12,829 churches without ministers, and only one-sixth of the population who profess to be members of any Christian Churches. In other words, only one sixth of the population profess to be Christians.

Now the condition of England is bad enough, God knows. Throughout the land the principles of a National Church are virtually abjured; in the large towns the form is forsaken, and the way of the Sectaries is rampant. Hence our condition might reasonably be expected to be very bad. Yet as there is something of a National Church still upheld, (in theory at least), it is worth our while to compare the results of the experiment in England, with the state of affairs in Sectarian, no-church America. In England the National Church is now not an idea or form, but a theory, at most; and that theory is but vaguely remembered, and loosely carried out. Yet, in England and Wales (according to the Census of 1851—that of 1861 not yet being sufficiently advanced and analysed to extract the numbers from thence), there are—

Church of England clergymen	17,390
Dissenting Ministers of all denominations . . .	8,696
The number of Protestant Dissenting Ministers being .	6,405
The number of Church of England church-buildings .	14,077

Hence there is an excess of national clergy of one-fourth.

The number of Protestant Dissenting Places of Worship 20,020;

which shows that, among the sectaries in England, as also among the sectaries in America, there is an excess in the number of buildings, over the number of ministers to serve in them. There are two-fifths of the meeting houses which are destitute of officiating clergy.

Of Congregational chapels alone, the number is . .	3,312
The number of clergy to serve in them is . . .	2,004

so that here too the buildings are one-third in excess of the ministers. Nay more; of those ministers 433 have no 'pastoral charge.' Hence, nearly one-half of the chapels are without ministers.

Hence upon a comparison, we find that sectarian America is in a somewhat worse condition than that of the sectaries in England, who live in the shadow of the great National Church. While America is in a far more deplorable condition than that part of the English population who profess to be members of the Church and attend her services.

I have even made a less advantageous contrast than I ought. For, it must be borne in mind that a national church-building remains for ever where it has been placed. Whether the parish increases in wealth, or becomes sunk in poverty, the national parish clergyman must ever be on the spot, to minister gratuitously to the spiritual wants of the parishioners. This is so because it is a National Church. But a

Congregational or Sectarian meeting house is sold, and the minister leaves the place, as soon as the neighbourhood becomes poor. Thus Dr. Hume states, for instance, that in Liverpool, 9 Dissenting chapels had occupied 26 different sites. They were counted, therefore, not as 9, but as '26 new chapels.' In his able pamphlet on the Census, Dr. Hume gave the following table:—

Ten years ending	Places licensed.	Still in existence.	
1810 . .	5,460	1,169	or 21 per cent.
1820 . .	10,161	1,905	or 18 ,,
1830 . .	10,585	2,865	or 27 ,,
1840 . .	7,422	4,199	or 56 ,,
1850 . .	5,810	4,397	or 75 ,,
	39,438	14,535	

The American form is carried out in education, as well as in religion. There also, the way of the sectaries obtains. The State furnishes instruction. But that instruction is 'secular' merely: it takes no cognisance whatever of religion. In the United States, there is no Established Church, as the great engine and means of education for the State. In the State education of America, religion is passed over or ignored. Yet whatever in a school is ignored is practically discouraged.* It therefore amounts to this, that religion is practically discouraged in all the public schools of America.

To support such a school, there is no strong motive either of religion or of party feeling. It cannot therefore be maintained except by a rate or

* See a Letter from the Committee of the National Society to the Commissioners of the Privy Council, on Education, October 25, 1839.

tax. In America, a school-rate has been found in practice to work very badly; for all the ratepayers insist on bearing their share in the disposal of the funds and the management of the school. They in fact determine what shall be taught in the school. The Unitarians forbid the mention of a Trinity. The Socinians stipulate that the divinity of Christ shall not be taught. The Deists do not permit the presence of a personal God to be inculcated. Not to offend the Jews, Sunday may not be regarded as a holy day. To speak of 'judgment to come 'gives umbrage to the Universalists. The Baptists will not hear of infant baptism. The Roman Catholics forbid the use of the Bible. The Theists scorn all revelation. The Independents will have no forms of prayer, and the Quakers no sacraments. The residue which may be taught is a *caput mortuum*. The population are trained to unbelief; their conscience becomes hardened; their standard of right is lowered; respect for law and authority is destroyed. This is the way of the sectaries applied to education. This is that same principle, which they maintain in their churches, consistently carried out also in their schools. That system is not praised, it is not by any means approved of, in America. It is envied here in England, because its effects have not been felt; it is eulogised here, because it is not known. Here is the testimony of one well qualified to judge:—'The exclusion of Christianity from the public education of the country is a suicidal arrangement. The worst enemy of humanity could think of nothing more destructive to the republican institutions of the

country.' * Tremenheere also writes: 'The young people who stream into Lowell, as workers from the neighbouring States, are usually without the slightest knowledge of Christian doctrine, and utterly indifferent as to what sect they belong to, since they think all religions really pretty much alike.'† And again: 'The great majority of the rising generation is without any positive religion. . . We are advancing in the direction of complete absence of religion, and moral ruin.'‡ The conclusion is therefore inevitable: 'The bitter discovery is now being made in America, that an education destitute of a Christian spirit is not merely defective, it is positively injurious, and trains up men to make them cold, calculating scoundrels.'§

In consequence of the acknowledged failure of the common-school system, they are now endeavouring, before it be too late, to establish parochial schools. They desire to give a definite religious education. Now they recall Washington's dying injunction: 'Never allow education to be divorced from religion.' They have found by experience that to do so creates a lukewarmness, and negative indifference to religion. 'Dissever religion from education (said the Duke of Wellington), and you make men merely clever rogues.' The truth of this maxim has been amply proved in the United States. In a new country, not

* Colwell's *Position of Christianity in the United States.* Philadelphia, 1854, p. 98.

† H. S. Tremenheere, *Notes in the United States.* London, 1852, p. 51, quoted by Dr. Döllinger. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 58.

§ Dr. Döllinger, *The Church and the Churches,* p. 223.

densely populated, with miles of free land, with plenty of employment and good wages, we might expect (if any credence is to be given to Mr. Buckle) that there would be much less crime than in a densely populated country, where land is not to be had, where employment is scarce, and wages are low. Yet, with all these advantages which they have over us, what is the true state of the case? Bishop Otey, of Tennessee, states in his charge that the generation now rising into manhood 'are totally ignorant of the nature of their obligations as moral and accountable beings;' although (says he) they are very '*shrewd*' in all matters of trade and traffic. The results are there. To what cause can they be traced, except to Americanism in religion and education? Could they be referred to the republican form of government? Are, then, the same evils apparent wherever there is a republic? The dregs of the people in America elect persons of their own stamp to places of authority, trust, and power; and these levy, off the wealthy, sums which these peculators eventually divide among themselves; while men of talent and refinement are driven, by the tyranny of low-minded electors, to spend their lives in retirement and seclusion. *These* things, perhaps, might be laid to the score of a 'too democratic form of government,' by persons who are determined not to see in them the traces of the other far more efficient cause. But what shall be said of the following? The evils complained of here

are not merely political, but social and moral. Dr. Caswall, whose long residence in America (with the onerous charge of a parish) has fully qualified him to give valuable testimony, writes: 'But, as to the nature and extent of those obligations by which man is bound to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God, they have been taught nothing, they know nothing, and ofttimes care nothing. The example of their parents has led them to regard money as "the chief good;" and, in its acquisition, all advantages are to be taken which the law will allow, or which artful evasions of the law will enable them to compass. The social affections are swept away in this struggle for gain; there is no place for their exercise; and the kindly offices of charity and benevolence are unknown. The children of the country are thus, in a measure, trained up with feelings almost hostile to their species. The idea they have of public liberty is, that they may do as they please, regardless of the comforts, and even the rights of others. Reverence for age and character is unfelt, sympathy for sufferings and distress is destroyed, and respect for law and authority despised as meanness.'*

This statement of Dr. Caswall's is fully borne out by Bishop Potter of Pennsylvania. In his charge of 1849, he says: 'May we not tremble for the future of our land when we see how the bonds of parental authority and domestic affections are relaxed, and how

* Dr. Caswall's *American Church*, 1861, p. 194.

much insolent contempt is expressed for the wisdom of the past?' Bishop Hopkins of Vermont said in 1854: 'It is well known that the wives of our age have no notion of submitting to their husbands; and that sons and daughters are accustomed to throw off the yoke of their parents, and to do precisely as they please; while the reverence for magistrates, ministers, and teachers which marked the early days of the Republic, is generally exploded as obsolete.'

Those who are on the spot, and conversant, by reason of their daily work, with all these various forms of evil, do not lay them to the charge of their political institutions. They attribute them solely to the want of that one effective institution, an Established Church. They refer them to the prevalence of the 'way of the sectaries,' or Americanism. In doing so they lay bare the very same results which were complained of so bitterly at the time of the Commonwealth in England; and trace those results to the same baneful cause which then operated to our injury in England. In the 'Plea for Home Missions' we read:*—

'However we may charge this upon the lukewarmness of the churches, upon the absence of correct views respecting ministerial support—and its consequent meagreness—or on the prevalence among young men of a subtle scepticism, we may not shut our eyes to *the fact*, that the want *must continue as*

* *Plea for Home Missions*, 1859, p. 64.

long as that unfortunate division of the field continues, which must ever come from divided counsels and sectarian rivalries. . . . There are more than forty* religious denominations in the United States. Of these about a dozen are of considerable importance. More than a dozen would come under the general head of "Evangelical." . . . The Calvinistic churches include as many as five important denominations.'

The same book contains also the following curious analysis of the members of the *Iowa House of Representatives* in January 1858 :†—

'The House consisted of seventy-two members, who individually reported their religious connections, as here given : '—

Methodist	12	Universalist	3
Presbyterian	6	Universal Toleration	1
Old School Presbyterian	1	Unitarian	1
Associate Presbyterian	1	Catholic	1
Associate Reformed Presbyterian	1	Liberal	2
Baptist	4	Golden Rule	2
Episcopal	4	Christian	3
Lutheran	1	Disciples	1
Orthodox	2	All	9
Congregational	1	None	16

Here, then, we have again that which Milton called the SUBDICHOTOMY OF PETTY SCHISMS. Here is exactly the condition of affairs which Edwards wrote the book called 'Gangræna' to show up. One hundred different 'denominations' of religion are enumerated in the American census. The names of

* Dr. Döllinger (p. 226) says, 'more than 70 in New York alone.'
† *Our Country. Plea for Home Missions*, New York, 1859, p. 50.

some of these are fanciful enough, and scarcely intelligible. This is a specimen :—

Democratic Gospel
Ebenezer Socialists
New-Lights
Tunkers
Superalists
Cosmopolites
Free Enquirers
Children of Peace
Inspired Church
Pathonites
Believers in God
Perfectionists
Spiritualists
Universalists
Puritans
Hopkinsonians
Moderate Calvinists
Strict ,,
Destructionists
Restorationists
Deniers of Original Sin (? Pelagians)
Pre-existents
Sand-hillers
Soul-sleepers
Come-outers
Lutherans
Churchmen
Congregationalists
Hardshells
Roman Catholics
Rationalists
Methodists
Christians (denying the Trinity)
Quakers
Unitarians
Moravians
German Reformed
Dutch ,,
Jews
Swedenborgians
Socinians
Shakers
Independents
Methodist Episcopalians
North ,,
South ,,
Seventh-day Baptists
Campbellite ,,
Freewill ,,
Ironside ,,
Six-principle ,,
North Presbyterians (Anti-Slavery)
South Presbyterians (Pro-Slavery)
Old School Presbyterians
New School ,,
Cumberland ,,
Associate ,,
Reformed ,,
Associate Reformed Presbyterians

It will be remembered that, after a very few years of such a state of things, at the time of the Commonwealth in England, Socinianism and infidelity increased with a most frightful rapidity. This also was a main topic of complaint in Edwards's 'Gangræna,' against the Independents and other sectaries. With regard to the sects of America, Dr. Caswall

asserts that 'in these congregations, which are bound by no common creed or confession, the truths of our Lord's divinity and atonement have often been more and more omitted in the public ministrations, until finally they have come to be openly denied. . . . . Among the Baptist sects, every kind of heresy is active. One believes in a Sabellian Deity, &c.' * It is not alone Dr. Caswall who traces to the Way of the Sectaries the very prevalent infidelity; the reckless disregard of all law, and the loss of all sense of right, to the independency of congregations, and the rivalries of disputing sects. In the 'Plea for Home Missions,' which I have already quoted—a book printed in New York, and addressed to those who are ready to detect in it any fallacy, and expose any false or even biassed statement—in that book we read:—

'Now it is obvious, upon first inspection, *that a system* (say, *rather, a confusion*) . . . *so stimulating sectarian rivalries*, that ministers frequently abuse as much time and strength *in working against each other*, as they use in working for Christ—that *such a system must result in a great waste of power*; and this, of all kinds. Accordingly we find that churches are born weak, and are compelled to worry through a long and fretful infancy, are kept on a diet irritatingly low, and compelled to struggle, with slow and uncertain growth, toward a maturity which must come late, and may come never.' †

* Dr. Caswall's *American Church*, p. 252.
† *Plea for Home Missions*, 1859, p. 67.

'More than one-fifth, therefore, of all the churches connected with these denominations may be counted as very weak, none of them having more than twenty-five members, and the average falling considerably below that number. Nearly one-fourth may be counted as weak, their membership ranging between twenty-five and fifty; and these, taken together with those that are weaker yet, constitute nearly 43 per cent. of the whole. More than two-thirds of all the churches do not contain over one hundred members. Those that exceed one hundred are about 31 per cent., and those that exceed two hundred are not quite 11 per cent. of the entire number.'*

Again: 'Sectarian rivalry is, in many places, carried to a pitch of narrowness and spite but feebly appreciated by Eastern Christians, such as is impossible in an educated community, and is incomprehensible to hearts enlarged by obedience to the law of Christ. . . . Here, then, we have a confused multitude of various origin, scattered over a vast space, a large part of them living far asunder, amid discomforts, perpetually in motion, never permanently settled, burthened with distracting cares, subject to high excitements, buried in worldliness, *pulled this way and that by rival sects*, and predisposed to *contempt of all religion*, *unteachable*, *proud*, *vain*, ambitious, contentious, hardened in long transgression.'†

The characteristics of the Way of the Sectaries, or

* *Plea for Home Missions*, New York, 1859, p. 60.

† *Ibid.* p. 71.

Americanism, have now been sufficiently delineated by themselves. The nature of No-Church is, according to the avowals of its own friends, sufficiently repulsive, and as much to be shunned as the opposite pole, or the Roman form of Ultramontanism.

Before carrying this investigation further; before observing the effects of Americanism in another land, with totally different political institutions, under opposite conditions and influences, let us first notice the only remedy which these friends of independency themselves propose. Let us (say they, in effect) no longer trust our people to mere preachers; let us no more place confidence in these independent ministers, who fly from advancing popery, who succumb to any strange doctrines that may chance to invade their congregations! Let us have *pastors* for the people. Let shepherds, who receive a fixed payment, be placed there to look after the flock, and guard it from the ravages of wolves in sheep's clothing. In the 'Plea,'* the question is asked, 'What can we do? Like all questions of immediate duty, this is an open secret. *The main answer is clear*: we must send men to the West who shall there become the PASTORS OF CHURCHES—*pastors, not preachers* merely—*shepherds of the flock, who shall not flee before any wolves.*' Their 'voluntary system' has in fact been found to be totally inadequate. Their 'preachers' are not officers stationed by the nation at posts where they must abide. They are merely hirelings who flee when the danger comes and when difficulties arise.

* *Plea for Home Missions*, p. 82.

Dr. Alonso Potter, Bishop of Pennsylvania, in one of his charges, thus writes:—

'It is a melancholy fact, that some of the most useful clergymen, who have left us during the past year, have been constrained to do so by the entire inadequacy of their means of subsistence. I have much fear that we are destined to suffer still severer losses from the same cause.

'In the report which has been made of clergymen removing from one parish to another, or retiring altogether from the diocese, the Convention will see renewed occasion to deplore the instability which marks the pastoral relation. . . . The separation is occasioned only by insufficiency of support. This must be regarded as a chief reason why so many of our parishes, when vacant, find it difficult to obtain a clergyman; and why, when supplied with a zealous and capable ministry, so many are obliged to relinquish it. The number of earnest and thoroughly efficient men is inadequate to the demand.'

Again; Dr. Mason uses these words:

'We wish to send the Sabbath, with the Church and its APPOINTED MINISTRY, wherever our people have gone. . . . Talk of the designs of foreign ambition, and the mighty agencies of a foreign spiritual despotism—and what of them all? Their name may be legion, and their array may terrify the timid and the nervous; but give us this one thing, the influence OF AN ENLIGHTENED AND SANCTIFIED STATED MINISTRY, COEXTENSIVE WITH OUR POPULATION, AND THE RESULT IS CERTAIN. Nothing can make headway

against such an agency. Error can thrive and do its work, superstition can gather up its victims and throw over them its chains, only where that ignorance prevails, which the light of this agency scatters.'*

And further: Dr. Edwin Hall asserts that—

'All other societies and agencies for the propagation of Christianity, for the maintenance of truth, or for reformation in morals, depend on the Church. All become powerless and die whenever the Church decays. The Church dies without the ministry; the ministry dies without the Church. God has appointed the one for the "edifying of the body of Christ," and He made the other "the pillar and ground of the truth." . . . This is the cheapest, the most efficient, the most permanent of all agencies for planting and perpetuating the Gospel in that vacant field.'†

Is it not manifest that these thoughtful and serious men in America have become sickened and disheartened with the system which prevails there? Have they not, in their hearts, abjured that form of Church and State—or rather No-Church—of which America furnishes the most genuine and unadulterated example? Do they not sigh for that other form which their forefathers abandoned? Do they not desire a National Church, with its pastors and parish churches; with its 'stated ministry' and its organisations, as a bulwark against Romanism and a safeguard against infidelity? For what object was the

* Rev. Erskine Mason, D.D., quoted in the *Plea for Home Missions*, p. 127.

† Quoted at p. 127 of *Plea for Home Missions*.

American Home Mission Society established? What is the great end which it has in view? Let it be stated in the words of their 'Plea:'—

'No eloquent tongue or pen can preach the Gospel of peace as a great government can. . . . . *The Society proposes to labour for this particular object*, not in all possible ways, but in one specific way; and this is—

'By ESTABLISHING AND SUPPORTING the *living ministry* in Christian churches. . . . . Its one object is TO CREATE AND SUSTAIN a Christian ministry, in the active labours of the *pastorate* and the pulpit. . . . This Society is devoted to that one institution which is the centre of all the others, without which they would have had no being, and whose decay would be their ruin. . . . At the organisation of the American Home Missionary Society in 1826, it aimed, as far as practicable, to ESTABLISH in each church the *pastoral* relation, and thus to *secure a permanent ministry*. From this period the churches rapidly increased in number, strength, and efficiency; the whole moral landscape assumed a brighter aspect; and the excellence of the system employed was abundantly attested by the fruits it produced.'*

And what is the character which the American Tract Society glories in? In what guise does it desire to appear before the Independent Americans themselves?

'FROM THE NATIONAL CHARACTER of the Society and the UNDENOMINATIONAL CHARACTER of its publications,

* *Plea for Home Missions*, p. 04.

I have access to all classes of people, and especially to unbelievers and opposers of religion, whom I could not have approached in any other way.' *

Again: 'I find that the NATIONAL CATHOLIC CHARACTER and spirit of the Society, its constitution, its labourers, and the UNDENOMINATIONAL CHARACTER of its publications, give me access to all classes, especially to unbelievers and opposers.' †

By dire experience they have learnt for themselves a lesson which our history might have taught them. By their weakness in coping with a growing infidelity, by their inability to stem the torrent of vice and crime, they have proved the same again to others. By the sneers and scoffs with which their abortive efforts have been received, they have been led to confess, openly to the world, the utter worthlessness of the Independent way, and the imperious necessity of a National Church.

PART III. SCOTLAND.

I NOW propose to show the evil results which are caused by separation from National Churches of another model. For this purpose I give a history of dissent from the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. In this case again, the sectaries did not separate on points of doctrine, nor did they dispute the propriety

* *35th Report of the American Tract Society*, 1860, p. 114.
† *Ibid.* p. 102.

of rites and ceremonies. They rejected the national form of the Church, and set up, for themselves, an *imperium in imperio.*

A Presbytery consists of both clerical and lay elders: a minister and a lay-elder being deputed from each parish in the district. Whenever a minister has been chosen by the congregation, he is ordained by the Presbytery. But it is the minister who ordains an elder, whenever there is a vacancy to be filled. He is then an elder for life.* From each elder, on his ordination, there is required a subscription to the Westminster Confession.

It would be more correct to say that an elder is '*set apart.*' He is not *ordained* like the ministers of the Presbyterian Church. There is no laying on of hands in the case of an elder. For the Presbyterian Church believes in Apostolical succession. It holds, however, that the Apostolic power resides in the Presbytery, and not in each minister. The Church of Rome also holds Apostolical succession, but considers the power to reside in the higher clergy alone. The Free Kirk schismatics believe the power of investiture (rather than ordination) to be vested in the whole congregation. For this they quote the sanction of the first Book of Discipline, which was drawn up by Knox himself. 'Other ceremonies than the *public approbation of the people, and declaration of the chief minister* to serve the Church, we cannot approve; for, albeit the Apostles used imposition of hands, yet, seeing the miracle is ceased, the using of the

* Our word 'priest' is merely the Greek term for elder.

ceremony we judge not necessary.'* The General Assembly of the National Scotch Church is presided over by a 'Lord Commissioner,' appointed by the Crown.

In 1581 the Covenant was subscribed by the Scotch King James (afterwards James I. of England), and by the people also. By this subscription they solemnly condemned prelacy. The Covenant was ratified again in 1590, and also in 1596. The Charter of the Kirk of Scotland was passed in 1592. By this charter the Presbyterian model of Church government was fully established, and '*the society* which had been originated by Calvin was acknowledged to be the true Kirk.'† Knox was the disciple of Calvin. Melville was the disciple of Beza. It is therefore important for us to know, at first starting, the principles upon which these reformers proceeded, with regard to those points which afterwards were disputed. As to *Calvin*, Dr. Tulloch informs us:—

'Especially did the great idea, which had been originally expressed in the Catholic Church, but had become degraded into an unspiritual hierarchy—the idea of a "*Divine State*,"—hold possession of Calvin's mind. . . . He felt moreover that it was *only by the resurrection of this idea in some new form that the reactionary* STRENGTH OF THE CATHOLIC POLITY *could be met and withstood.* . . . A mere *controversial interest was fast beginning*, in Germany, to swallow

* See the Bishop of Glasgow's *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 247. *Speech of Dr. Bryce, with an Address to the Clergy of the Church of England* (Blackwood); and *British Critic*, xxviii. p. 42.

† See the Report of the Auchterarder case (Longman).

up the spiritual life out of which the Reformation had sprung; and, with all his own strong polemic tendencies, Calvin sufficiently discerned *the evil that would come from such a spirit*—the mere negation and deadness to which it would give rise. . . . His mind, therefore, could not rest short of a new Church organisation and polity—of a new order of moral discipline, which, planting itself in the heart of Protestantism, should at once conserve its life, and enable it to *confront the recollecting forces and still powerfully repressive energy of the Roman hierarchy.* Strongly impressed by its necessity, he aimed to impart to Protestantism a new social (as well as doctrinal) expression — TO RECONSTITUTE, IN SHORT, THE DIVINE COMMONWEALTH, the CIVITAS DEI.'*

This is truly most important testimony! Such was the society originated by Calvin. Such, at first, was the Church of Scotland. It scarcely differed in principle—if it did so at all *originally*—from the National Church in England. It was a National Church. It was the State in its highest function. It was purely a 'society' for putting down evil. It appears also that in Scotland, at first, dogma was tabooed. Doctrine was not considered the business of the Church. It was delated to the endless circles of theological controversy.

Knox, in his appeal of 1558 to the 'Nobility and Estates of Scotland,' asserts that it is lawful to appeal from the sentence of the Church to the judgment of

* Dr. Tulloch's *Leaders of the Reformation*, p. 174.

the temporal magistrate, who is bound to defend them from tyranny. 'Lawful it is to God's prophets and preachers of Christ Jesus to appeal, from the sentence and judgment of the visible Church, to the knowledge of the temporal magistrate, who, by God's law, is bound to hear their causes and defend them from tyranny. God requireth of you to provide that your subjects be rightly instructed in His true religion, and that the same be by you reformed whensoever abuses creep in.'*

Melville also, writing in 1584 to the pastors of the Church at Geneva (on Adamson's matter), thus expresses his entire agreement with them: 'Wherefore, like as it should be superfluous to us to open up and declare our judgment unto you, namely concerning matters of discipline; seeing whatsoever we have in that matter we willingly and plainly confess to have received it of you, and that we altogether agree with you in all points.'† Melville and his associates in Scotland, therefore, entirely agreed with Zuingle in all points. Now we know from Mosheim ‡ that 'Zuingle (*more than Calvin*) assigned to civil rulers a full and absolute power in regard to religious matters, and subjected the ministers of religion entirely to their authority.' Here, however, are Melville's own words, in his answer to Adamson's appeal to the King against the Synod of Fife, in 1586:—

'But if he will say that this is the opinion of the

* Calderwood, i. pp. 252–361, quoted by Dr. Turner, *Scottish Secession of* 1843, p. 91.

† Turner's *Scottish Secession*, p. 34.

‡ Vol. iii. p. 363.

ministers of that Assembly, then, truly, he is either ignorant of their judgment and doctrine of that matter, or else a malicious calumniator of that which he knows. For it never was the judgment, doctrine, or replies of any of the ministry of Scotland, that matters ecclesiasticall pertained nothing to the king or Christian magistrate, but contrariwise; that first, and above all things, the Christian magistrate ought to have care of religion and matters pertaining to the Kirk, and employ his authority and power to the welfare and good estate therefore, and that he is the minister and lieutenant of God, who has received the sword chiefly to that effect. Neither do we deny that it is leasome to any that are hurt and injured by the Kirk and governors thereof, to have recourse to the Christian magistrate for help and relief.'*

This judgment of one of the founders of the Reformed Church of Scotland will become most important when we come to the history of the secession from that Church. With regard to the separation of civil and ecclesiastical matters, he is equally clear. In his epistle to the Kirk of Geneva and Zurich, he writes: 'And albeit that some things be *called* ecclesiastical, and others civil, and the civil appertain to the commonweal and the others to the Kirk—yet it is not so much to be considered *what* things are handled, as *how*; seeing the knowledge of one and the self-same thing, one way and in some respect, appertaineth to the magistrate, and another

* Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 507.

way to the senate ecclesiastical.'* These facts alone, out of a great number, are certainly sufficient to make us conclude that the Church of Scotland, although different in model, approached extremely near in form to the Church of England. The latter was an Episcopal Church; the former of a Presbyterian model. Yet both were at that time purely National Churches. Afterwards, as we shall see, the form was not so well maintained in Scotland as it was in England.

In the year 1596, the King proposed certain questions to the Synod of Fife. The first was as follows: 'May not the matters of external gubernation of the Kirk be disputed, salva fide et religione?' To which this answer was given by the Synod of the Church of Scotland: 'They may not;' and they supported this reply by the following reason, among others: 'The government of the Kirk *being already established and constituted* upon good grounds of the word of God, *by laws of the country*, and more than thirty years' possession. . . . . Let the King and Council consider how intollerable they would think it to *cast in doubt the fundamental laws of the kingdom* and Acts of Parliament; or, if any man would put in arbitrament his undoubted possession, leaning upon a law and decree and right unreduced.'†

Yet even at this early period, tares had been sown with the wheat. That evil principle was already beginning to work, which afterwards rent the

* Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 166.
† *Ibid.* v. 585. Turner's *Scottish Secession*, p. 69.

Church asunder. The Church was beginning to regard itself as something separate from the State; it was held to be a power, not only distinct, but of a superior origin. This, as we have already seen, was the very seed from which Romanism grew. The answer given by the Synod to the King's 29th question ran as follows:—

'The king should consent to, and by his laws approve, all that by the Word of God's majesty is concluded in his Assemblies; but the acts thereof have sufficient authority from Christ; who has promised, that whatsoever two or three, convened in His name, shall agree upon in earth is to be ratified in the heavens; the like whereof no king nor prince has. And so the acts and constitutions of the Kirk are of greater authority nor any earthly king can give; yea, even such as should command and overrule kings, whose greatest honour is to be members, nourish-fathers, and servants of the King Jesus Christ and his spouse and queen the Kirk.'*

In the year 1633, the King tried to force Episcopacy on the Scotch nation. They abhorred that model of Church government. Rising up against it, they again proclaimed the Covenant. That was in 1638. With regard to the royal supremacy, the Assembly declared: 'That it is unlawful in itself, and prejudicial to the privileges that Christ has left His Church, for the king to dissolve or break up the Assemblies of this Kirk, or stay their proceedings. For then it would follow that religion and Church

* Calderwood, v. 591. Turner's *Scottish Secession*, p. 127.

government depended absolutely on the pleasure of the prince, &c.'* 'It was *this supremacy* (continues Marsden) which scandalised the Covenanters, more than prelacy itself.' That is to say, the Scotch had already gone so far as to nourish a distaste for the national form of Church and State, even more than they disliked the episcopal model of Church government. As in the Roman Church, so also in the Scotch Church, this abhorrence of the national form proceeded from pride and lust of power on the part of the clergy. Dr. Turner testifies that 'during the period that succeeded the year 1638, she was not only free, but dominant; she was not established only, she ruled. She issued her mandates, and they were obeyed with trembling. Her Assemblies and their commissioners were armed with powers which royalty itself might envy; and to which, on many occasions, royalty succumbed.'† The power of the Assembly of the Kirk must already have become very great, and must have been exercised very despotically too. It seems to have issued its mandates without any regard to the entreaties of presbyteries, or the urgent wishes of the people. It forced a minister on some reluctant congregation; and refused to permit the ordination of another who had been chosen by the people.‡

Yet, even when departing from the form of a National Church, they sought to retain the advantages

* Marsden, *Dictionary of Christian Churches*, p. 151.
† *Scottish Secession*, p. 20.
‡ *Ibid.* p. 42.

which are inseparable from that form. They were anxious that the Church and the State should remain coextensive; or rather, although a National Church does not rest upon doctrine, they, on the contrary, desired to enforce the acceptance of doctrines. They manifested a sort of ultramontane eagerness to compass sea and land in order to make converts. The Assembly passed acts against all non-communicants in 1638, and in later years; and compelled all parents of other religious opinions, to give up their children to be educated by the Kirk.

There was an Assembly (since become famous in the annals of Scotland), convened at Glasgow in 1638, for the purpose of repelling the encroachments of King Charles. Alexander Henderson, afterwards one of the Scotch commissioners at the Westminster Assembly, was chosen moderator. One of the propositions made at the Glasgow Assembly was, 'That all persons, of whatsoever state and condition, be obliged to swear and subscribe the Confession of Faith, as it is now condescended upon by the General Assembly.' They decreed as follows: 'The Assembly constitutes and ordains that, from henceforth, no sort of person, of whatsoever quality and degree, be permitted to speak or write against the said Confession (the Covenant), this Assembly, or any act of this Assembly; and that under the pain of incurring the censures of this Kirk.' Another of the acts of this Assembly prohibited, 'by virtue of their ecclesiastical authority,' all printers from printing anything 'which may concern the Kirk of Scotland, or God's cause in

hand,' without a warrant from the clerk of the Assembly. Although they evinced such strong ultramontane tendencies; although they cherished the desire, either by cajolery or by force, to bring everyone to profess a belief in their doctrines; yet we find them very anxious, as yet, to bow to the authority of the king. Thus, at Rome, the bishop had submitted humbly to the emperor, as long as the ecclesiastical power had been too weak to overwhelm the civil. In the seventh session of the Glasgow Assembly, Henderson, the moderator, addressed the royal commissioner in these words: 'There is nothing due to kings and princes in matters ecclesiastical which, I trust, shall be denied by this Assembly to our king.' He enumerates what belongs to a king; namely, supervision over ecclesiastical persons and matters; the vindication of religion from heresy; the power to confirm or veto the acts of Assembly; a coercive power; and almost unlimited power in Assembly; for, 'as he is king or magistrate, he must have the judgment of his eminent place and high vocation to discern what concerns the spiritual welfare and salvation of his subjects.'*

During the next year, again, the Assembly enforced from all persons a subscription to the Covenant. Subsequent Assemblies passed still more stringent acts to the same effect. On recusants, not only ecclesiastical censures, but civil penalties were inflicted,† and every Presbytery throughout the country was obliged to become a sort of Star-chamber

* Turner's *Scottish Secession*, p. 97. † *Ibid.* p. 135.

for carrying out this act. At the time of the Rebellion, the Scotch had ceased to regard every member of the nation as necessarily a member of the Church, according to the national form. Men's opinions were now regarded as the qualifications or disqualifications for Church membership. The Church was now supposed to stand upon doctrines. It followed that, for all the nation to become members of the Church, a sort of Inquisition had to be set up to scrutinise men's opinions; a strict conformity had to be enforced; and an unreserved and general subscription had to be required. Dissent or heresy was regarded as a most heinous crime. But heresy, instead of denoting political disobedience, had come to be an ecclesiastical offence. It was no longer sedition, but heterodoxy. Thus, having lost the form of a National Church, they became intolerant, persecuting, remorseless. The name of '*Toleration*,' the plea of '*Conscience*,' even when sincere, was a thing, of course, most hateful and abhorrent.*

In 1643 the General Assembly passed an act in the following terms:—'The General Assembly, considering that the Act of the Assembly at Edinburgh, August 30, 1639, enjoining "all persons to subscribe the Covenant, under all ecclesiastical censure," hath not been obeyed: therefore ordains all ministers to make intimation of the said act in their kirks; and thereafter to proceed with the censures of the Kirk against such as shall refuse to subscribe the Covenant.

* See Dr. Turner's *Secession*, p. 12.

And that exact account be taken of every minister's diligence herein, by their Presbyteries and Synods, as they will answer to the General Assembly.' That Assembly went further even than fulminating a severe mandate like this. They took advantage of an old act of the year 1573, for '*using civil execution against excommunicated persons.*' They moreover followed up the acts of previous Assemblies, against the freedom of printing and the liberty of the press, by passing 'an Act for searching books tending to separation.'

This was the year (1643) in which the Westminster Assembly of Divines adopted the Covenant for the two nations; calling it 'the Solemn League and Covenant.' At this Assembly of Divines the Westminster Confession of Faith was drawn up. In that we see traces of the growth of the ultramontane virus. The king was no longer to be supreme over the Church. The 'civil magistrate' was to keep order, for the Church, in a subordinate sort of manner, like a chief constable. Chap. xxiii., sec. 3, declares, 'The civil magistrate may not assume to himself . . . the *power of the keys* of the kingdom of heaven. Yet he hath authority, and *it is his duty to take order*; that unity and peace be preserved in the Church; that the truth of God be kept pure and entire; that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed, &c.'

Yet we find the Scotch commissioners, individually, excusing themselves for having abetted this stretch of ecclesiastical dominion over the executive power of the nation. Rutherford, one of the Scotch com-

missioners, for example, excuses himself in a very mystical and ambiguous manner :—

'We never denied that the magistrate commandeth both the exercise of the Church power simply, and the manner and such qualifications as are external and obvious to the knowledge of the magistrate.

'The magistrate's power, in spiritual things, to judge and punish is formaliter, and in itself, and intrinsically, civil; but objective in regard of the object; and extrinsically, it is spiritual.'*

Gillespie, another of the commissioners, thus sings his palinode: ''Tis far from my meaning that the Christian magistrate should not meddle with matters of religion, or things or causes ecclesiastical, and that he is to take care of the Commonwealth, but not of the Church; certainly there is much power and authority which by the Word of God, and by the Confessions of Faith of the Reformed Churches, doth belong to the Christian magistrate in matters of religion.'†

The question of patronage was now mooted. The people now wrested some of the inordinate power out of the hands of the Church. An approach was made to the American form; for the people insisted on electing their own ministers. It is a common prejudice to suppose that nothing can be further apart than the Sectaries and Romanism. I shall presently show that the American and Roman forms go hand in hand. It is sufficient for the present to

* Rutherford's *Divine Right*, pp. 548, 622, &c.
† Gillespie's *Aaron's Rod*, p. 181.

remark that the Scotch Kirk, while departing from the National form, approached partly to the Roman and partly to the American. The clergy were ambitious, and sought independence from the State. Yet power was also put into the hands of congregations. Religious and secular matters were separated. The former, at once, not only took precedence, but were even made to encroach upon the province of the latter; the ecclesiastical attempted to domineer over the civil. Thus, for example, the General Assembly of 1646 endeavoured to put itself altogether in the place of Parliament, and usurped a supremacy of power which vied in arrogance with the encroachments of Hildebrand. In opposition to an Act of Parliament they issued a 'Solemn and reasonable warning to all estates and degrees of persons throughout the land.'* This contained violent denunciations of what Parliament had done. It was sent to each Presbytery. Every minister was ordered to read it from his pulpit; and commanded to threaten his congregation with the wrath of God, and excommunication of the Church, unless they joined the banner of the Church in opposition to the king and Scotch Parliament. In addition to the agitation, which every house of God was thus made the instrument for arousing, the Synod drew up a petition, by which they '*required* Parliament to do nothing important' without the sanction and concurrence of the General Assembly of the Kirk!

This violent revulsion has, however, an external

* Turner's *Scottish Secession*, p. 142.

history, as well as that internal history of the passions which lurked in the breasts of the actors. The Scotch commissioners had returned from the Westminster Assembly of Divines, boiling over with rage and disgust. The cause of this splenetic humour was that the Parliament in London had stoutly maintained its supremacy over the Church. The Scotch then immediately entered into a secret treaty with Charles I. The King, on his part, stipulated for his throne; the ecclesiastics bargained for the supremacy, during three years, of the Presbyterian Church, over Independency. In pursuance of this conspiracy, the Duke of Hamilton was sent with forces to the King's rescue. Cromwell beat him. But the scheme was not given up. It was carried on, even after the King's death in 1649. For the Scotch instantly proclaimed Charles II. The new king was crowned on Jan. 1, 1651. In 1661 the Scotch Parliament, in order to please that Popish Charles II., obsequiously annulled all the acts of previous Parliaments, since the year 1633. Thus was Episcopacy reestablished in Scotland.*

We have overrun ourselves. Let us return to the period from which I digressed. In the year 1647, the General Assembly of the Kirk continued their repressive acts. 'Being tender of so great an engagement by Solemn Covenant, to endeavour uniformity, together with the extirpation of heresy, schism, *and whatsoever shall be contrary to sound doctrine*, and to denounce Erastianism, Independency, and liberty

* See Marsden's *Dict. of Christian Churches*, p. 766.

of conscience'—they unanimously called in the secular arm to repress schism and unsound doctrines.* They also ordained that everyone should attend his parish-church; and that if anyone withdrew himself, he should be 'delated' to the Kirk Session, cited and censured. An act was also passed against the sale of any books which contained erroneous doctrines. 'The General Assembly, considering how the errors of independence and separation have spread in our neighbour kingdom of England . . . . do therefore, in the name of God, *inhibit and discharge all members of this Kirk and kingdom to converse with persons tainted with such errors*; or to import, sell, spread, vent, or disperse such erroneous books or papers.' By these solemn acts, however, the Assembly disapproved, in the strongest terms, of the departure from the national form of Church and State which had taken place in England. They deprecated the introduction of that poison of Independency and Sectarianism into Scotland. They appealed, moreover, to the king, as head and protector of the Church, to put it down.

In doing this, they condemned themselves. They, too, had forsaken the national form of Church. They had constituted themselves an *imperium in imperio*. Both by acting as if the Church rested on doctrines or on men's opnions, and by regarding the Church as a distinct and independent power in the State, they had proved that they had lost the idea. Witness the Act of Assembly censuring ministers for their silence,

* Turner's *Scottish Secession*, p. 156.

instead of preaching 'to the corruptions of the time' (August 3, 1648). What, then, were those corruptions of the time? Were they national sins, moral depravities, which it certainly was then, and must ever be, the duty of the National Church to denounce? No. By these euphemisms they commanded sedition. By decreeing that the ministers should speak 'to the corruptions of the time,' they ordered the ministry to preach up rebellion against the law of the land. The Church, in doing this, set itself up as a power superior to the State or nation. By all their acts they manifested a scorn for the lawful rulers of the land—whom they depreciatingly styled the 'civil power.' They proclaimed that the Acts of Parliament were illegal and tyrannical decrees, and menaced all who obeyed them with 'the wrath of God and the censures of the Kirk.'* They threatened to depose every minister who failed, in his sermons, to inveigh seditiously against the legislature. They said that such ministers would be 'pleasers of men rather than servants of Christ, for giving themselves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality in the cause of God.' Moreover, if any of the people ventured to dispute this 'high duty' of 'the ambassadors of Christ'—this great commission given by 'ecclesiastical authority'—they were to be immediately visited with all the terrors of excommunication.

Every Assembly of the Kirk, from 1638 to the Restoration in 1660, bore this character. They were (to use Dr. Turner's own expression) mere

* Turner's *Scottish Secession*, p. 144.

'political conventions;' and their "claims of spiritual independence' were 'claims of tyrannical interference and clerical usurpation.'

Of course the Parliament resented this meddling, and defended the fundamental laws of the nation. In the Acts of Parliament this dangerous interference of the clergy is mentioned; and their incessant endeavours to stir up the people to rebel against the national legislature.

In the next year (1649), the Scotch Kirk took another step towards Independency. They again asserted the right of the people to choose their own pastors. It may seem, at first sight, that the Scotch Church was blowing hot and cold. It was not so. The clergy were all along seeking to achieve their independence of the nation (the State). They were always denouncing secular interference, in order that they might become a clergy-church. As long as the Crown or the nobles (who were in the interest of the State), or indeed any of the laity, could present the clergy to their livings, so long the clergy, as a body, could never acquire a complete independence of the State. This tie must, therefore, at all hazards, be snapped asunder. It was the old papal contest for investitures. The influence of the Crown and of the nobles must, for this, be destroyed. Hence it was that the road to the Roman form lay in the way of the Sectaries.

The Act of 1649, which abolished Patronage, appeared to enact that the Presbyteries were to proceed 'upon the suit and calling, or with the

consent of the congregation, on whom none is to be intruded against their will.' The qualifications and conditions, however, which the Act contained, made it in reality far less of a popular or democratic measure than it appeared. The Assembly did not really, by means of this Act, confer the right of election upon the congregation. The only difference was, that the Kirk-Session took the place of the former Patron. The people obtained the right of objecting or protesting. But, on the other hand, there was expressly reserved to the Presbytery the power to induct the minister, in spite of the most vehement objections on the part of the whole congregation. The Presbytery, to do this, had merely to assert that the opposition of the people proceeded from 'causeless prejudice.' Moreover, if the Church Courts pronounced the congregation to be 'disaffected or malignant,' then the Presbytery might at once, and with a high hand, 'provide them with a minister.' Thus the clergy obtained the right of investitures.

We have seen that the beginning of sorrows lay in the careless assumption that the Church was a power in the nation (or State), distinct from the nation, and independent of it. The clergy took for granted that they were the Church. They laid claim to an origin superior to that of the State (or nation). The people concurred with the clergy in separating religious things from secular. Concerning the former, the people relieved themselves from all trouble and anxiety by handing them over to the exclusive care of the clergy; while they, on

their part, applied themselves with steady eagerness and unremitting attention to secular pursuits. Such a germ must expand (as every germ does if it has any life in it), and bear fruit after its kind. The fruit of this germ is either the Roman form, or the way of the Sectaries. Such a pernicious growth always poisons the breath of the nation, influencing all its acts, and disturbing its peace. Hence the period which succeeded that date was a time of turmoil and misery; the nation always in feverish excitement; the rulers divided in counsel; party set against party; and faction, bitter in its animosity, against faction. The clergy were constantly claiming a right to interfere in all the affairs of the nation. They meddled even with the conduct of military matters. They even assumed that it was their function to judge for the State (the nation) concerning the lawfulness of each war,* and decide whether it should be declared or not. Whenever their unsolicited advice was not followed, the clergy published manifestoes, or made all the pulpits resound with their fulminations. Thus was the national life affected, and its peace destroyed.

The Church, too, was injured by the same poison. Within her own bosom dissensions were engendered. Soon she herself was troubled by the wrath and clamour of contending parties. Their 'Divine origin' was now remembered only to give weight to their mutual denunciations, and add to the terrors of their frequent excommunications.† This deplorable con-

* See Turner's *Scottish Secession*, p. 144. † *Ibid.* p. 52.

dition of the Church and of the nation had been produced, slowly yet surely, by a false notion which had worked and germinated like a fermenting virus in the blood. They were not conscious of the change which was going on. Men and nations never know of a disease in themselves, if it be not a mere bodily ailment. They had lost an idea, but were not aware of the loss. They continued for a time to express the old doctrine, and kept to the form of words, without knowing or feeling the meaning of them.

The Presbyterians in England were at this time very different from the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. The former still contended for National Churches; and proved them out of the Scriptures. The Presbyterian ministers of London, in 1654, made no difficulty of owning National Churches, in these words: 'And if all the Churches of the world are called one Church, let no man be offended if all the congregations in England be called the Church of England. . . . When the particular congregations of one nation, living under one civil government, agreeing in doctrine and worship, are governed by their greater and lesser Assemblies,—in this sense we assert a National Church.'*

The Scotch Parliament, in 1661 (as I have already mentioned), made an important change. They passed the 'Recissory Act;' by which the nation renounced the Covenant, and again declared the king's

* *Jus Divinum Minist. Evang.* pt. ii. p. 12; and see Stillingfleet, *On Separation*, p. 208.

supremacy over the Church. The words they used were these: * 'The discipline of the external government and polity of the Church is in His Majesty and his successors *as an inherent right of the crown.*' Thereupon the king issued a warrant from Whitehall to reestablish episcopacy in Scotland. That model of Church government remained until 1689. This was not a political change. It was merely an alteration in the model of Church government. It concerned the divine, not the statesman. Nevertheless it was a gross breach of faith on the part of Charles. When he was crowned in Scotland (on the death of Charles I.), he took an oath to observe the Covenant. This oath he confirmed two or three times afterwards. However, by breaking his oath, he benefited the Scotch. By a stroke, he swept away all the evil that they had been effecting for thirty years before. He made them retrace their steps, and gave them a fresh start from the year 1633.

The 'indulgence' to the clergy in Scotland, which King James II. proclaimed in 1672, was most dissatisfactory to them. It was, said they, an attempt to place the clergy at the disposal of the crown, and was 'pure Erastianism.'† It was even worse than the Scotch clergy had concluded. It was an insidious attempt to break down the National Church, in order to prepare the way for introducing Romanism into the country. It was a sop thrown to all Dis-

* Tindal, *Rights of the Christian Church*, xlii.
† Marsden's *Dictionary*, p. 158.

senters, in order to bribe them to ally themselves with the Papists in accomplishing that object.

The Revolution of 1688 again restored the old model of Church government, and relieved the Covenanters in Scotland. In 1689, the Scotch Parliament passed an Act to abolish Prelacy and establish Presbytery. In 1690, King William renounced the Royal Supremacy '*as inconsistent with Presbyterian government.*' Thus, in the second probation also, of the Scotch Church, its national form received a deep wound, from the effects of which it has not yet recovered. The writer of the 'Zealous and Impartial Protestant,' in the year 1681, had foreseen the evil which must spring from such a seed. 'If ever Presbytery be established, the ecclesiastical supremacy is gone from the right place, and indeed the royal power is everywhere lost. The king is a subject. He has only changed his lord—one for many, *the Pope for the Synod and Elders.*'

In the same year, 1690, an act also was passed which gave the patronage to the 'heritors' or landowners in each parish. Such a change was not, however, sufficiently great for some who desired to make a more rapid advance towards the American form. The Reformed Presbyterians or Cameronians objected to the whole Revolution settlement, on the ground of its being Erastian. It savoured, said they, too much of connection with the State (i. e. with the nation). Nay, more; the Church was, in their eyes at least, *oppressed* by the State. Passion must have refracted their vision. How could the Church be

oppressed by the nation, when the ministers of that Church preached sedition with impunity? Cargill, one of the ministers to whom the administration of the affairs of the Kirk had, by this very settlement, been assigned, took upon him to pronounce anathemas from his pulpit, against the chief men and rulers of the State. How could he venture to do that, if the Church were at all oppressed by the State? How could he do it unless the Church already domineered over the nation? At Torwood, in Stirlingshire, Cargill thus delivered himself: 'I, being a minister of Jesus Christ, and *having authority from Him*, do, in His name *and by His Spirit, excommunicate, cast out of the true Church, and deliver up to Satan*, Charles II.' &c. &c. He continued, in the like Christian spirit, to deliver up to Satan, James, the Duke of Monmouth, the Duke of Lauderdale, the Duke of Rothes, General Dalziel, and many others.* This gift to Satan could have made no difference to such worthies as these. Yet it is a wonder (if the Church were really oppressed) how such a churchman escaped suppression. The real objection of these churchmen lay, not against the State, but against the national form of the Church.

In the lapse of a few years they again tried the experiment of setting up another form for themselves. Then they plainly enough discovered that the Church cannot, with safety, be disjunct from the nation. Then they found, to their cost, that the provinces of ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction overlap

* *British Critic*, xxviii. 41.

each other; and that the one power or the other, if they be independent, must inevitably go to the wall. If the ecclesiastical power, for example, refused to institute into a living a man who had spent all his means on a preparation for the ministry, and given up every other means of livelihood for it; then it is manifest that such a man's 'civil' interests are thereby greatly affected, if not utterly ruined. Such a case is 'purely ecclesiastical.' Nevertheless the civil courts must grant redress and enforce compensation. This must always be the case, unless the ground of rejection by the Church be that which is acknowledged as valid by the law of the land. It must always be so, unless the ecclesiastical and legal judgment be one and coincident. It must always be so (in other words), unless the Church be a National Church, established by the law of the land.

In the Scotch Act of 1592 (c. 117) there had been a saving clause or proviso, which was intended to prevent this very clashing between the Church and the State: 'Provided always, in case the Presbytery refuses to admit any qualified minister, presented to them by the patron, it shall be lawful to the patron to retain the whole fruits of the said benefice in his own hands.' Thus the Presbytery might be coerced, before any collision could take place between the Church and the State (the nation). This proviso had, however, been abolished. It was but a poor device at best. This patronage became the battle-field of the Church and the nation in Scotland. It must now engross our attention.

All the Reformed Churches, according to Dr. Stillingfleet,* held the Novatian doctrine (of the people's right to choose their own pastors) to be a most 'unreasonable pretence.' It was the doctrine of the Donatists, the Novatians, and of the other heretics, in the apostolic times. It was a doctrine which received the reiterated condemnation of great councils of the Church. Beza † (whose disciple Melville was) wrote strongly against it, as 'a thing without any ground in Scripture or any right in antiquity, and subject to infinite disorders.' At Geneva the ministers were always chosen by the Council of State. At the Synod of Dort ‡ the right of patronage was expressly reserved, and kept out of the hands of the people. The Second Book of Discipline of the Church of Scotland vested the right of patronage in the Church governors, or Presbytery:—'If his (the person presented) doctrine be found wholesome, and able to instruct the simple, and if the Church justly can reprehend nothing in his life, doctrine, nor utterance, then we judge the Church, which before was destitute, unreasonable, if they refuse him whom the Church did offer, and that they should be compelled by the censure of the Council and Church to receive the person appointed and approved by the judgment of the godly and learned; unless that the same church have presented a man better or as well qualified to the examination, before that this foresaid trial was taken

* *On Separation*, p. 328. † *Ep.* 83.
‡ Can. Eccles. 5.

of the person presented by the Council of the whole Church.'*

The Westminster Assembly, however, decreed in 1645, with the approval of the Scotch commissioners, that 'no man is to be ordained a minister for a particular congregation, if they of that congregation can show *just cause of exception* against him.' In the 'Directory for Church Government and Ordination of Ministers,' which was ordained by the Westminster Assembly in 1647, with the full sanction of the Scotch commissioners, we read: 'When any minister is to be ordained for a particular congregation, or translated from one place to another, the people of that congregation to which he is to be ordained or admitted shall have notice of it; and if they *show just cause of exception* against him, he is not to be ordained or admitted.' These ordinations did not in reality grant to the people the smallest modicum of additional power. The right of veto was merely nominal. The people could not pretend to select a pastor. But when a pastor had been appointed, then the onus of inquiry and burden of proof was thrown upon them. If they succeeded in time (which was not likely) in discovering and proving somewhat against the proposed minister's doctrine and manner of life, then it lay with the Council of the Church to decide whether it was or was not a sufficient and just cause of exception. Hence the people did not gain much

* From the 2nd Book of Discipline, lib. i. ch. iv. 4. Turner's *Scottish Secession of* '43, p. 39.

by these acts. On the contrary; patronage clearly was admitted as a right, by these acts; so that the abolition of patronage was made more difficult than before. The divines of the Assembly were evidently endeavouring not to let the right of patronage fall into abeyance. For they hoped to increase the amount of patronage in their own hands. Rutherford was the leading Scotch commissioner at the Westminster Assembly of Divines. Listen to the manner in which he expounds the views which guided that body in those decisions of theirs :—

'The prophets and apostles exercised pastoral acts over many who made not choice of their ministry; yea, they preached to them against their will, and Paul preached as a pastor to many in Corinth against their will; and a faithful pastor may preach to many who never made choice of him for their pastor, and to whom the word is the savour of death unto death. . . . *A liberty of the will in embracing or refusing a minister is license, not liberty.* . . . Here is a ministerial charge which a pastor hath lawfully over such as are not willing to submit to that ministry; the power of electing a pastor is not infallible. *What if they, or most of them, upon sole groundless prejudice, refuse such a man to be their pastor, is he not the pastor because all consent not? Are we to think that Christ purchased a liberty of refusing a called pastor?*'*

* Rutherford, *Due Right of Presbyteries*, 1644, pp. 128, 129.

Again: 'The people are not infallible in their choice, and may refuse a man for a pastor whom God hath called to be a pastor, because people out of ignorance or prejudice consent not to his ministry.'*

In March 1649, the Parliament passed 'an Act to abolish the patronage of Kirks,' and recommended the General Assembly of the Kirk to establish some settled rule concerning the appointment of ministers. In consequence of this recommendation, the Act of Assembly of July 1649, for the 'election of ministers,' was framed. This act took the patronage away from the Crown and from every lay patron, and conferred the whole patronage upon the Kirk-Session. To the congregation was reserved nothing but the right to offer an objection. If the majority or the whole of the congregation concurred in urging their objections to the appointed minister, then the dispute was to be determined by the Presbytery of the district. If it was a minority only who disapproved, they were of course ignored. And if, when a majority or the whole of the congregation condemned the appointment, the Presbytery chose to conclude that majority to be 'disaffected or malignant,' then it lay entirely with the Presbytery to provide a minister for the congregation.†

It appears that neither the congregations nor the Presbyteries did, in effect, obtain much power by the working of this act. The English Independents (with whom the Scotch had '*leagued*' themselves)

* Rutherford, *Due Right of Presbyteries*, 1644, p. 205.
† Turner's *Secession*, p. 43.

seem to have been jealous of the growing power of the Scotch clergy. Robert Baillie, one of the Scotch Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly of Divines, wrote, in 1654, as follows: 'As for our Church affairs, thus they stand. The *Parliament of England* has given to the English *judges and sequestrators* a very ample commission to put out and in ministers as they see cause. . . . But whom *the Presbytery* and wellnigh the whole congregation calls and admits, he must preach in the fields, or in a barn, without stipend. . . . No intrant gets any stipend till we have petitioned and subscribed some acknowledgement to the English.' * So it appears that the patronage was still pretty firmly held in the gripe of the State.

After William III. had come to the throne, matters underwent a change. By the Act of 1690, 'the right of election was vested in the heritors (or landowners) of each parish,' and compensation had to be given to all the patrons, who became thereby dispossessed of their right. In 1712, however, an act was passed, which restored the patrons (the Crown &c.) to their ancient right of investitures, or of presenting ministers to vacant churches.

Thus the law of patronage became the bone of contention in the Scotch Church. This was the battle-field on which Church and State have been fighting out their quarrel in Scotland; just as in England the issue was tried on the question of Royal supremacy. They are very similar: both were disputes

* See Turner's *Scottish Secession*, p. 53.

concerning investitures or patronage. The Crown or State has been victorious in each instance. But Patronage is the rock on which the Scotch Church was split in 1843. That which might have been the foundation of a beacon and a bulwark has become, since it was ignored, the cause of those disruptions which have morselled out the Church to various sects—to sects who differ in nothing except the law of patronage. 'The State (or nation) has no right,' said they, 'to make laws for the Church, nor to dictate as to the induction of ministers. The nation has nothing to do with the Church. The spheres of these two powers are distinct. One is the province of Cæsar; the other is the realm of Christ. It is each congregation who should choose its own pastor.' This is a distinct denial of the national form, a deliberate preference for either a clergy-church, or else the way of the Sectaries. On the one hand, the Church (or realm of Christ) which they desired, was to be a clergy-church; a Church totally distinct and separate from the State or nation. And yet the clergy of that Church were to be the slaves of their several congregations. Each congregation, moreover, was to become a separate atom; no more united and bound into one with other congregations than the grains of quartz in a sandhill. Nay, more; each congregation was to be itself a mere sandhill, every man was to be for himself; separated, isolated from all his fellows. The ties which were supposed to bind each congregation into one were of the weakest and most unsubstantial nature. Yet this is said to be the

'One Body of Christ!' What is Dr. Turner's evidence on this point? 'The important fact is, that in Scotland men enjoy a *state of liberty in regard to religion.* And, vest the patronage of the clergy where you will, THERE WILL ALWAYS BE SECEDERS; because, by the law of toleration, *the minority are not bound* to receive as their minister the nominee of the majority.' *

The schisms which have taken place of late years from the Kirk of Scotland, are the experiments which reveal to us the true character of their principles. In each of these we shall see that the one objection brought by all the seceders against their mother-Church was this: that 'secular persons had spiritual authority; that the Kirk was not something independent of the nation or State.' What those experiments prove is this: that if 'secular persons' and 'spiritual authority' are kept separate; if the Church is a distinct and independent power in the State, then a clashing and collision must necessarily arise between the two; the one or the other must eventually be crushed. If the Church issues triumphantly out of the arena, we may know that the Roman form has been established over a vanquished nation. If the State stands predominant over her fallen foe, then we have the Russian form. But if the Church is crushed and ground to atoms in the struggle, then there will remain only the American 'many-headed monstrous Hydra of Sectarism' (as Gangræna Edwards calls it).

* Turner's *Scottish Secession of* 1843, p. 27.

Let us now pass these experiments in review. In 1751, Mr. Watson was presented to the parish of Torpichen. On trial he was declared to be 'fully qualified.' The General Assembly commanded the Presbytery of Linlithgow to settle Mr. Watson in the living, and appointed Mr. Adams of Falkirk to preside at the ordination. Mr. Adams, however, disobeyed this 'Act of Assembly.' The Presbytery also proved refractory and contumelious. They had been the same during the previous year, on grounds of '*conscience.*'* In 1752 a similar case occurred at Inverkeithing. The Presbytery of Dumfermline were brought up before the Assembly and 'peremptorily ordered to admit the candidate three days after, and report to the Assembly on the following Friday.' They disobeyed. Therefore Gillespie, Robertson, John Hone, and others were deposed from their offices by Act of the Assembly.† These were little skirmishes between the clergy-church and the people; the preludes to the general battle.

In 1764, there was a great struggle in the General Assembly of the Church against the party who supported 'popular calls.' On this ground, and on this alone, a schism was made by Mr. Baine (minister of Paisley), in conjunction with many others. These schismatics styled themselves 'the Presbytery of Relief.'‡ In this year Dr. Drysdale was translated from Kirkliston to Edinburgh, after a severe struggle between the General Assembly and the Town Council

* *Autobiography of Dr. Carlyle*, p. 244.
† *Ibid.* p. 255. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 446.

of Edinburgh. The civil magistrates, after much litigation, succeeded in establishing their right of presentation, 'much for the peace of the city.'* I quit these preliminary bickerings, and enter upon the famous Auchterarder, Lenthendy, and Marnoch cases; which were the occasion of the Free Church schism.

AUCHTERARDER.†

The Patronage Law of 1712 enacted that the Crown, or any other person who had a right of patronage over any Church of Scotland, might present *any* '*qualified*' *minister* to the Church of which the Crown, or such person, was the patron. That was the law enacted by the 'civil power.'

On May 31, 1834, the General Assembly of the Kirk at Edinburgh passed a resolution: 'That it is a fundamental law of this Church, that no pastor shall be intruded on any congregation contrary to the will of the people.' On this resolution the General Assembly grounded an enactment called the VETO LAW. This Act of Assembly declared that any male head of a family may lodge objections to a nominee; and that if a majority of the heads in the congregation send in their dissent, then the nominee is rejected, and cannot be ordained to that Church. That the same may occur with regard to the next, and each subsequent nominee; nevertheless that,

* *Autobiography of Dr. Carlyle*, p. 448.
† *British Critic*, July 1840.

when the time allowed for presentation had elapsed, then the nomination should pass into the hands of the Presbytery, who may appoint to the parish in spite of all dissentients. That was the law enacted by the 'ecclesiastical power.' It is very easy to make a statute, and record it in a book. Whether it is law or not is quite another question. Where Church and State are separate, an ecclesiastical law may be illegal; it may not be in harmony with the constituted laws of the country. Where the national form is strictly preserved, this cannot occur.

The circumstances which tested the legality of this veto law were as follows:—

On September 14, 1834, Lord Kinnoull (the patron) presented Mr. Young to the parish of Auchterarder. Mr. Young was vetoed by the people, and therefore rejected by the Presbytery. The matter was referred to the Synod of Perth. Thence it was taken, on appeal, before the General Assembly of the Kirk. The General Assembly, on the ground of their resolution of the preceding May, immediately decided against Mr. Young. Thereupon, Lord Kinnoull and Mr. Young brought an action against the Presbytery in the highest civil court of Scotland—the 'Court of Session.' On November 21, 1837, this momentous trial was opened. The sole point on which the issue depended was: the *legality* of the Act of Assembly of May 31, 1834.* The sentence of the Court of Session was to this

* See Robertson's *Report of the Auchterarder Case.* Longman, 2 vols.

effect: that the Presbytery had acted illegally in rejecting Mr. Young, on the ground that a majority of the congregation had vetoed him. This was, in fact, a declaration of the nullity of the law which the Kirk, independently of the State, had taken upon herself to make.

On May 8, 1839, the General Assembly appealed to the House of Lords. After the lapse of a year, the Lords decided the question by confirming the sentence of the civil courts (the Court of Session), and asserting that it was the duty of the Presbytery to have taken Mr. Young on trial; that they ought not to have rejected him, *à priori*, on the ground of the veto of the people.

The Court of Session, upon a second action, awarded damages to Mr. Young. This also was referred to the House of Lords, on an appeal. The House of Lords confirmed the sentence of the civil court, and granted the damages.

Lord Campbell at once saw the true state of the question. He fixed without hesitation on the real point at issue. He used these memorable words in the House of Lords: 'On the subject of independent jurisdiction, the Church has set up claims that are inadmissible. *Its claims amount to a demand that the Church courts should not be questioned for anything they may think fit to do.* The consequences of the assumption which they make may not be the resuscitation of *all* the abuses which *grew up from* THAT SAME ROOT IN THE CHURCH OF ROME; but the yoke of the Church may again be made most galling,

and its burden most intolerable, if such demands as are now made, were to be conceded.'

Before the second judgment was delivered, the Kirk seems to have assumed that the first sentence, although solemnly given, could not be enforced, and must remain a nullity. 'The Church (said they) will follow out her views of the law within her own province, as to its *spiritual* consequences; and will leave to the civil courts to follow out their views of it, within their province, as to its civil effects.'* They evidently could not rid their minds of the notion that there were two utterly separate and independent spheres, the one spiritual and the other secular, which could be governed by two different rulers, without mutual interference. This, as Lord Campbell averred, was the very hallucination which had transmuted a Christian Church into Popery. In this case the delusion was, by the second decision, somewhat rudely dispelled. The first judgment had been abstract. It had dealt with notions of duty only: 'Presbyteries might do this and might not do that.' Such a judgment might be ignored with ease. The second judgment was of a different character; it decreed that a particular act should be performed, and that damages should be paid. This was too specific to be passed by. Dr. Candlish, upon that occasion, spoke as follows:—

'The former judgment, in the *Auchterarder* case, was one to which they could render obedience; but

* Turner's *Scottish Secession*, p. 302.

this was a decision which, in no sense whatever, they could obey. The amount of the judgment was this: that the civil courts had jurisdiction to lay down for the Church this particular rule, for their authoritative guidance in the discharge of their spiritual functions of trying, ordaining, and admitting candidates for the ministry; that the dissent of a congregation was no sufficient reason for setting aside a presentee; and that those courts had jurisdiction to compel Presbyteries to induct presentees to the cure of souls, notwithstanding of such dissent.'

The law, therefore, which the Church had assumed to itself the right to decree, speedily clashed with the constituted laws of the State (or nation). The State (or nation) then vindicated its own superiority, and a solemn judgment was recorded that Church laws are in effect no laws at all; unless the Church and the State (or nation) are one; and that rejection by the people constitutes no legal disqualification for the ministry; because that such a rejection, although recognised by the law of the Church, is contrary to the law of the land, and not in accordance with the form of a National Church. In this contest between the nation and a Church which had constituted itself a separate power, the State was triumphant. The civil courts overruled the independent act of the ecclesiastical authorities, and constrained the Presbytery to give way, and ordain Mr. Young.

In 1838, however, the General Assembly of the Kirk voted a '*Declaration of Independence.*' In this document the Scotch Church boldly declared that

ecclesiastical rulers are independent of the civil magistrate; in that they are directly appointed by 'the Lord Jesus, as King and Head of His Church;' and on these grounds the Scotch ecclesiastics claimed an *exclusive jurisdiction* in ecclesiastical matters. They, however, yielded to the civil courts a like authority in strictly civil affairs. These are the words of the resolution: 'That, as it is declared in the Confession of Faith of this National Established Church, that the Lord Jesus Christ is King and Head of the Church, and hath therein appointed a government, in the hands of Church officers, *distinct from the civil magistrate*; and that, in all matters touching the doctrine, government, and discipline of the Church, her judicatories possess an *exclusive jurisdiction*,' &c.

By this document, the Scotch formally abjured the form of a National Church; from which, during the lapse of many years, they had been gradually departing. Which, then, of the three remaining forms, did they select? They openly avowed their preference for an *imperium in imperio*. They deliberately chose, therefore, either the Roman or the American form. Yet how inconsistent they were! They pretended to affirm a principle: in their haste they repudiated it. The appeal of the General Assembly to the Lords was, in fact, an acknowledgment of the supremacy of the State. They were chagrined at the decision of the civil Court of Session, which imposed upon them the payment of damages, and reparation for the wrong. They

asserted that they were scandalised simply at the interference of any civil court. Yet this assertion they had already contradicted, by their conduct on hearing the first decision of that civil court. They again repudiated their assertion by appealing from the Court of Session to the highest (civil) tribunal in the land.

In the next year (1839) the General Assembly of the Kirk went a step further, and involved themselves in fresh contradictions. They voted an unqualified approval of 'the acts of their forefathers in 1638.' Was this merely an unqualified approval of the sin of rebellion? Did they thus merely eulogise a fierce excommunicating and anathematising of bishops? Did they commend the violent subversion of the Church? More than this. They inconsistently condemned themselves, by whitewashing the sepulchres of the prophets. In the year 1638 the Scotch Church had exhibited, it is true, very ultramontane *tendencies*; but yet they had by no means openly repudiated the form of a National Church. They still *professed* to adhere to that form. Hence the Church, in 1839, voted an absolute approval either of the National Church of 1638, or of the ultramontane tendencies of the clergy.

In the year 1840 the Kirk strongly opposed Lord Aberdeen's Bill, '*because it subordinates the Church to the civil power.*' Similarly, when Mr. Fox Maule, on March 7, 1843, brought the Free Church question before the House of Commons, the debate turned upon this same point—the limits of ecclesiastical

jurisdiction. The same view of the real bearings of the case was therefore taken by the two parties to the contest. Both Church and House of Commons told the same tale. We may therefore believe them.

The real question was merely as to the form of Church and State: whether a National Church should be chosen; or whether it should lapse into either the Roman or American form.

In the General Assembly, on May 19, 1842, Dr. Chalmers moved and carried a claim of rights, or protest; which was styled 'The claim, declaration, and protest, anent the encroachments of the Court of Session.' It starts, as usual at that period, with an assertion of the 'sole Headship of Christ over the Church.' The civil magistrate they obligingly permitted to exercise 'the power of the sword,' or secular government. To themselves they arrogate, solely and entirely, without let or hindrance, '*the power of the keys*,' or spiritual authority.* This 'power of the keys,' which was derived from St. Peter, the chief of the Apostles, was the ground of all the claims which had been put forward, the justification for all the usurpations which had been achieved by the Hildebrands and Innocents of Rome.

A Grand Convocation was summoned by circular to meet on November 17, in this year. That circular was signed by thirty-two of 'the most venerable ministers of the Church,' and declared the occasion which had induced them to take such a step—namely,

* Marsden, *Dict. of Christian Churches*, p. 357.

'the late decision of the House of Lords in the case Auchterarder;' a decision which had '*practically placed the Church of Scotland in a state of subordination to the civil courts.*' * This Convocation was attended by 465 clergy. A resolution was passed to the effect that 'the supremacy of the civil courts over those of the Established Church, was *an usurpation of the power of the keys*, to which they could not submit.'† They also drew up a memorial to Government, in which they assert *the necessity of going beyond the law* of the land. For the emoluments of the parishes they cared not; but the Church *must* be free 'to judge or not judge, to reject or receive, *to act according to law or* IN THE FACE OF LAW, ... *according to her own sense of duty alone.*'‡ This Convocation of the clergy was not recognised by the law of the land. It was not the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; it was merely a voluntary meeting of ecclesiastics. They had been dissatisfied before this, because the nation had not bowed down to the assembly of the clergy; because the law of the land had not given way before the edicts of a *legally* constituted assembly of the Church. Now these same clergy thought that any resolution which they agreed to individually, and not in a regularly constituted assembly, must (from some divine character in it) be superior to the Statutes of Parliament. And now, what further step did this convocation, or

* See Dr. Turner's *Scottish Secession*, p. 312.
† Marsden, p. 360.
‡ See Dr. Turner's *Scottish Secession*, p. 325.

meeting of ecclesiastics, determine to take? They resolved that they would invade every parish in the kingdom,—without seeking permission from the legal minister, without regard to the authority of the Kirk Session,—and deliver seditious and inflammatory harangues, in order to induce the people to separate themselves from the National Church of Scotland. The edict of this voluntarily constituted assembly of clergy was considered warrant and authority enough to take a step like this, in defiance of the law. What greater dispensing power could Rome ever grant than this?

And here, again, they made a blunder and inconsistency. Had they not already proclaimed the decision of the Church courts to be so sacred, that the law of the land must be silent before it? Had they not asserted that the authority of these spiritual courts was derived directly from Christ himself, their King and Head? How came they, then, so soon to turn round and contumaciously set those National Church Presbyteries and Kirk Sessions at open defiance? How came they to scorn those solemn Acts of Assembly, which prohibited them from intruding themselves into strange parishes? This irresponsible convention of ecclesiastics put themselves above the General Assembly; they considered themselves superior to the order and discipline of the Established Church of Scotland.*

The great FREE CHURCH SCHISM took place in the

* See Turner's *Scottish Secession*, p. 346.

General Assembly of the Kirk, on May 13, 1843, after a protest against the encroachments of the civil power had been solemnly read.

There were, however, two other cases which contributed their quota to develope this lamentable event. Yet it was the inevitable result of secretly cherishing and fostering the principle of another form of Church and State, like a numbed adder, in the bosom of the National Church.

LENTHENDY.

In the year 1836, the Crown, as patron, presented Mr. Clark to the living of Lenthendy. The nominee was vetoed by the congregation. He was therefore rejected by the Presbytery of Dunkeld. The General Assembly confirmed the rejection of Mr. Clark. In the month of November 1837, Mr. Clark brought an action *before the civil Court of Session*, against the Presbytery of Dunkeld. The Crown, in the meanwhile, sanctioned the veto and rejection. For they regarded the parish as vacant, and made another presentation to the living. This new nominee was Mr. Kassen. I do not know what stupid adviser could have led the Crown into the commission of so unseemly an act; for the veto law was declared a nullity in the Auchterarder case. Yet here the Crown hastily prejudged the case, and set itself in opposition to its own courts. The Court of Session interposed, and prohibited the Presbytery from ordaining Mr. Kassen. The Presbytery, in its difficulty,

appealed to the General Assembly. The General Assembly of the Church of course set itself in opposition to the civil courts, and commanded that the ordination of Mr. Kassen should be proceeded with. The obedient Presbytery ordained Mr. Kassen, and were forthwith summoned before the Court of Session, to answer for their ecclesiastical obedience and civil contumacy. Obedient again, the Presbytery did appear on June 14, 1839. The court pronounced a severe censure on the Presbytery; and menaced them with various undefined terrors if they ever ventured to do the like again. To Mr. Clark (whose case the Crown had prejudged by its ill-advised interference) the court thereupon awarded heavy damages. Here, too, the Church suffered in its collision with the civil courts. And the Crown also learnt that the law of the land is supreme alike over the heads of sovereigns and the mitres of ecclesiastics.

MARNOCH.

In the year 1837, Mr. Edwards was presented by the Earl of Fife to the living of Marnoch. He also was vetoed by the people. He therefore was rejected by the Presbytery of *Strathbogie*.* The General Assembly endorsed the rejection of Mr. Edwards. Thereupon Mr. Edwards brought an action in the Court of Session against the Presbytery of Strathbogie. He pleaded in his complaint, that a

* The same which has lately figured as the *terror* to all good doers, or, at least, to 'Good-Words.'

cabal had canvassed the parish against him. The civil court sentenced the Presbytery to take him on trial. Perhaps this was not a serious infliction; for the Presbytery acted in an unwonted manner, and resolved to obey the injunctions of the civil courts. To this resolution the Presbytery came, by a majority of seven to three. In doing this they braved a prohibition which had been hurled at their heads by the General Assembly of the Kirk.* In December 1839, the commission of the General Assembly of the Kirk, on the motion of Dr. Candlish, seconded by Dr. Chalmers, suspended the seven ministers who had formed the loyal majority in the Presbytery of Strathbogie. The sentence of suspension was pronounced on December 11. The Kirk also 'pledged herself firmly *to enforce submission* to her principles upon her members.'† Her principles of course were, that the civil courts should in no way interfere with her decrees, or thwart the exertion of her authority.

As soon as the seven ministers had been deposed, the Kirk directed the remainder, that is to say, the minority of the Presbytery of Strathbogie, to fill up the vacant parishes of the suspended ministers. The recusant majority, however, obtained from the Court of Session an interdict against the meeting of the Presbytery. The Court of Session also issued an injunction, forbidding any of the new ministers, which had been sent down by the Assembly, from preaching, or in any way interfering with the ministrations of the

* *Presbyterian Review*, Jan. 1840.
† *British Critic*, July 1840, p. 40.

deposed ministers. To enforce compliance with this edict, a body of police was sent down to those parishes. The General Assembly of the Kirk, as a measure of retaliation, closed the churches against the loyalists; and the civil courts, not to be behindhand, closed the same churches against the Assembly of the Kirk. On February 18, 1840, the loyal recusants obtained from the Court of Session, a further interdict, to prevent any of the Assembly's clergy from entering their parishes, or from continuing to hold rival services in barns and fields. Mr. Guthrie, however, preached, two hours afterwards, at Botriphnie, in defiance of the interdict. He there announced openly, that it was 'the intention of himself and brethren *to pay no deference to the authority of the civil courts.*' Dr. Chalmers, in a similar manner, preached at Strathbogie.*

The end of these three cases was the great Free Church Schism; which took place on May 13, 1843. The real cause of this separation was the secret ambition of the clergy, in endeavouring to set up a clergy-church, which should be independent of the State or nation. The ostensible cause, or rather the popular reason which was given for the schism, was that the people were not allowed to choose their pastors.

In this movement Dr. Chalmers was very prominent. All his influence was exerted, however, to procure peace, and prevent secession. His writings

* *British Critic*, July 1840.

amply testify, moreover, that he was in favour of the national endowment of religion.* He therefore opposed, with all his might, the voluntary system which most of his brethren were desirous of promoting. With this object he originated the 'Sustentation Fund,' in order to provide fixed and certain salaries for the clergy. For, said he, 'Knox and all enlightened reformers everywhere, most strenuously maintained the necessity of a settled provision for the teachers of Christianity.'† And, again: 'Our distinct object is to demonstrate the power and the properties which belong to a *National Establishment* of religion, viewed as a machine; and, in regard to the working of it, we may at least state, as our triumphant confidence, that, notwithstanding the exaggeration of its enemies, the evidence is every day growing, of its vast practical importance to the moral well-being of our nation.' And, again: 'We, the advocates of a *National* Establishment, hold it the duty and wisdom of every state, thus to undertake for the education of the great family under its charge, and to provide the requisite funds for the fulfilment of the enterprise.' This last quotation I have made from Dr. Chalmers' Lectures, because it seems to account for Dr. Chalmers' apparent inconsistency. He calls himself an advocate of the National Church; and yet he maintained the independence of that Church, and its separation from the State. 'Church' and 'State' seem to have been merely two abstractions for him. In

* *Lectures on National Churches*, 1838. † *Ibid.* p. 19.

the above quotation he speaks of the State procuring the education of the 'great family under its charge.' That great family is the State itself. Elsewhere he speaks of the Church as the 'great engine' for the education of that family. That family is the Church itself. It is very difficult, I confess, to speak of a National Church and the State (or nation) without speaking of them as two things. It is hard to frame one's language in such a way as not to appear to assume that the Church and the State are different—as hard as to discourse of the instance mentioned by Hooker, without separating the schoolmaster from the cobbler. Nevertheless, a perusal of Chalmers' works leaves on the mind an impression that he regarded the State as one abstraction or notion, and the Church as another notion, and both of them as distinct from the nation itself. If so, this was the little leaven which leavened the whole lump. It was the little seed which sprouted and threw out its branches so that his whole mind was adumbrated by Americanism. Once assume the one or the other to be anything different from the nation itself, and you poison the fountain-head, and pollute the whole flow of your thoughts.

From the following letter, however, penned by Dr. Chalmers in the last year of his life, it seems that this shadow had by that time passed away from his mind. 'I cannot conclude without expressing my despair of any great or general good being effected in the way of christianising our population, but through the medium of a government, themselves Christian, and

endorsing the true religion; which I hold to be their imperative duty, not because it is the religion of the many, but because it is true. . . . I do not look for the general Christianity of the people, but through the medium of the Christianity of their rulers. This is a lesson taught *historically* in Scripture, by what we read there of the influence which the personal character of the Jewish monarchs had on the moral and religious state of their subjects:—it is taught *experimentally* by the impotence (now fully established) of the voluntary system.' *

To return to the Free Church Schism. In the General Assembly of the *Free* Kirk, Dr. Chalmers moved a resolution in favour of Americanism; namely, a pledge that they should never abandon the principle of not forcing a pastor on a reluctant congregation. This resolution was carried. Dr. Cook; however, protested that this was 'inconsistent with the duty of every good subject, and subversive of the great purposes for which all government is instituted.' He added, also, that the civil magistrates must be obeyed, for conscience' sake, except when they contradict the law of God.

Before entering upon the next phase of this great schism, it is necessary to remove a wrong impression which may have been caused by those words of Dr. Chalmers, which I quoted. He was a bright and shining light among the schismatics. They were not all like him. Let us contrast the soft temper he cherished with the virulent animus betrayed by the

* Letter to Lord Panmure.

others. These words were spoken by Dr. Candlish: 'When we are driven forth from the Establishment, the same view of duty which led us to leave it, will also, of course, lead us *to aim at the overthrow* of the Establishment that remains. . . . We will be compelled, not by resentment, not by indignation, not by jealousy, but by the same sense of duty which induced us to leave it, to become *its sworn enemies*.'* And these words were written by Dr. Chalmers: 'Let our ecclesiastical malcontents ascribe what corruption they will to the Establishments of England and Scotland, we hold them to be the destined instruments both for propagating and for augmenting the Christianity of our land; and should never cease to regret the overthrow of this mighty apparatus, as a catastrophe of deadliest import to the religious character of our nation.'† Not from the latter, but from the former, are we to judge the mood in which the schismatics separated themselves from the National Church of Scotland—when, having finally renounced all the temporalities, they set themselves up as the FREE *Church of Scotland.*

They speedily discovered, however, to their cost, that no renunciation of temporalities—no declaration of independence from the State—can ever suffice to separate them from the State's jurisdiction. Yet it was for this, and for this only, that they had left the National Church. They made the schism in order to

* Turner's *Scottish Secession*, p. 345.

† Chalmers' *Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns*, No. I. p. 24. Wilks' *Correlative Claims*, p. 87.

secure independence. There is no ambiguity in their authoritative statement on this point. It is headed thus: '*Distinguishing tenet of the Free Church.*' They then make this definite assertion: 'Our distinctive characteristic . . . . that which distinguishes us particularly from the Establishment,—*the ground on which we withdrew* from the Establishment, was *the absolute exclusion of the civil courts from interference* with our exercise of discipline. *That is our peculiar and characteristic distinction.*' * By mournful experience they discovered that separation from the State is a chimera. Absolute independence from the State (or nation) is not, in the nature of things, possible. Sooner or later they must collide. The Church may, indeed, renounce the *benefits*; it must fulfil the obligations. This Dr. Lockhart of Inchinnan foretold them, in his answer to the 'Protest of the Free Church:'—

'In regard to this important matter, it turns out that the protesters have *exchanged a temporary grievance of their own creating* for *a permanent yoke of bondage.* Unlike those of the Establishments, their courts are at the mercy of any individual who thinks himself aggrieved by their proceedings. An action for slander may be at once brought against them before the Court of Session; and the records of the Church court may be ordered up, that the merits of the case may be ascertained. *Nor will their boast of spiritual independence, or assumption of the title of the Church of Scotland, ward off pecuniary damages*

* *Proceedings at the General Assembly of the Free Church*, 1860, p. 23.

in connection with a purely spiritual function, provided the guilt of the accused person be established on evidence satisfactory to the civil court. From all risk of such Erastian interference the Established Church is completely protected by the independent spiritual jurisdiction, *as recognised and ratified by Parliamentary statutes.*'*

What they really yearned for (although they would not confess it to themselves) was evidently, not merely to be independent, but to override the nation. Separate and equal they could not be. Separate and enslaved they would not be. There was nothing left for them but the Roman form; or else to be disjointed, and dislocated, and no church at all. The Roman form, indeed, lies very near to Americanism. Both spring from the very same passions; both show the same results. The Romanists used to deny the Queen's supremacy; so do the Free Church schismatics. The Romanist clergy rebelled against the authority of the civil courts of law. The Free Church ministers also pretend that their Church is exempt from all the civil courts, and subject only to a spiritual jurisdiction. The Pope used to dispute the Sovereign's right of investiture; the Free Church denied the Crown's right of patronage.

Dr. Turner, in alluding to another matter, incidentally corroborates that which I have mentioned. 'It is a point conceded in this controversy that

* Answer, p. 28. Turner's *Scottish Secession*, p. 214.

the doctrine of spiritual independence as now maintained, and as asserted to have been held by the founders of our Church, was unknown to the Continental Reformers, and not adopted by the Continental Churches. The admission is candid; the fact admitted is instructive. That a doctrine strenuously asserted to be essential should have been, if not repudiated, at least not maintained by any one of the Reformed Churches, saving by the Church of Scotland, is confessedly remarkable. *That the doctrine should be asserted only by the Church of Scotland and the Church of Rome is suspicious.*' *

It must be clearly borne in mind that the ground of secession in 1843 was spiritual independence, or absolute exemption from the civil courts of law.† Let us also be mindful of the ground on which they laid claim to this independent jurisdiction. They asserted a *Divine right.* They pretended to hold a *Divine commission*; to wield a sacred authority, which was not to be questioned—unimpeachable, not to be resisted nor gainsaid. They declared, moreover, that they could not abandon this claim, nor cease to prosecute it, without sacrificing the rights of Christ, and denying the Headship of Him in whose place they pretended to stand, and whose vicars they were upon earth. This is proved by the official publications of the Free Church. The Proceedings (for instance) of the General Assembly of the Free Church in 1860 contains this statement (p. 10):—

* Turner's *Scottish Secession of* '43, p. 82.

† See Turner's *Secession*, p. 60.

'A protest was in consequence laid on the table of the General Assembly of 1843, signed by a very large number of ministers and elders, chosen as commissioners to that Assembly. It referred to the decrees of the civil court, which had been pronounced as setting aside, and interfering with, the sentences of the Church—as precluding them from holding that Assembly, because it could only be held under the condition of submitting to the decrees of the civil courts. It stated that they had conceived that the Church was entitled to exercise its jurisdiction, "notwithstanding the decrees, as to matters spiritual and ecclesiastical, of the civil courts, because we could not see that the State had required submission thereto as a condition of the establishment;" and that *they could not*, "*without committing what we believe to be sin, in opposition to God's law, in disregard of the honour and authority of Christ's crown*, and in violation of our own solemn vows, comply with this condition."'*

They were struggling for somewhat more, even, than spiritual independence. The ground on which exemption from the courts of law was sought, enabled them also to lay claim to rights which lay beyond. It was not merely 'whether the Church courts should be supreme in all spiritual affairs . . . . but the real contest turned on this point, whether the Church courts shall also determine *what are those spiritual matters in which their jurisdiction shall be supreme*

* *Proceedings at the General Assembly of the Free Church*, Jan. 18, 1860, p. 10.

and exclusive.'* If such a power were yielded, what could they not achieve? With the prestige of such an extensive authority from God, what could they not command? To them would be due the same unreasoning submission, the same total abnegation of self, the same unqualified and machine-like obedience, which Ignatius Loyola could exact of his followers. The doctrines of the Church, the liberties of the people, would have been put beneath their feet. Ay, the people would certainly have been trampled on by the Free Church, as they once were by the Roman Church, under exactly the same conditions. This the divines of the National Church urged against the unheeding schismatics. 'The conflict began,' writes Dr. Turner, 'in defence of a popular veto on the induction of ministers. It became a contest for a principle which, if conceded, would have *established a clerical or ecclesiastical veto on whatever subject the Church might choose to appropriate as her own.* It began by demanding a popular right, but it ended by demanding a clerical right, *which, at will, could have scattered the popular to the winds.*'† From the earliest ages, 'the rights of the people' was the pretext put forward by schismatics. It was the cloak of ambition, the screen of ulterior designs. The cry of the rights of the people here also served the same purpose. It was not the fetters on the liberty of the people which nerved the energies of the Scotch clergy. It was not the bonds that re-

* *Popery of Spiritual Independence*, p. 5.
† *Scottish Secession*, p. 4.

strained their congregations which kindled in the hearts of these ambitious ecclesiastics motives strong enough to maintain the contest even to the loss of their worldly hopes and means of daily subsistence. Passion alone—the love of power—could have inflamed them all to this point. 'The spirit which dictated the remonstrance,' continues Dr. Turner, 'was less a desire of popular rights than of clerical power.' *

Let us watch these seceding clergy a little farther, and see how such an estimate of their real character will be corroborated by their avowed principles and subsequent conduct. At the time of their separation, while the tide of popular passion still ran high—while they were still regarded as heroes, and martyrs for the truth—they collected money and laid by a large 'Sustentation Fund.' For Dr. Chalmers had foreseen the difficulties which had to be provided for. He knew how imprudent and foolhardy it would be to trust to voluntary efforts for the support of their clergy. This fund was therefore collected, and placed under the management of a committee. The Free Church ministers were thenceforward an endowed clergy; but not endowed like a National Church.

The system upon which it was determined that the 'Sustentation Fund' should be managed, is that to which I would draw attention. Two years after the secession had taken place (in 1845), the Rev. W. Sorley published a pamphlet called 'Prospects and Perils of the Free Church.' At p. 21 there is the

* *Scottish Secession*, p. 17.

following passage:—'Look next at the Home Mission Committee; and, constituted as it is, we say that it forms, in the hands of a few individuals, *an instrument of power with which they can neither wisely nor safely be intrusted.* What is the authority with which they are invested? NOTHING LESS THAN THAT OF EXERCISING THE ENTIRE PATRONAGE OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND. They are at this moment accustomed to appoint supplies to all our vacant charges, and even our presbyteries are dependent upon their sovereign will and pleasure, for any provision they may have it in their power to make to the people who look to them for the dispensation of word and ordinances. Of such a form of patronage, the most odious, because an ecclesiastical one, which a system (so ugly at the best) can ever assume, we complain—we loudly, we bitterly complain. It deprives our people of those sacred privileges, in the appointment of their ministers, which the rulers of the Free Church are, of all men, bound most scrupulously to beware of invading. It is utterly degrading to our presbyteries. It is ruinous to our young men,' &c.

Does not this reveal somewhat of the actual spirit of the chiefs of the seceders? Do we not see, in the results, the motive which really actuated them, although, indeed, a great majority of them may not have been conscious of it? It was not the liberty and the rights of the people—not the freedom of the Church—not merely the separation of the Church from the nation—which was the goal that they set before them. They aimed at achieving a tyrannical

predominance in the nation; they tried to set up a clergy-church, whose claim to enslave the nation should be founded on Divine authority. It was the yearning of ecclesiastics for the Roman form of Church and State. For further corroboration, if more testimony be desired, I point to a speech of that great luminary of the Free Church, Dr. Candlish. He made it since the Free Church schism. It was spoken on an occurrence in their own body, which was an exact parallel to that which had caused the disruption of the Free Church from the National Church of Scotland. Dr. Candlish said: 'This case cannot be separated from the action which the Court of Session took during the ten years' conflict, which issued in the disruption of the Free Church.' He continues in these words: 'In the first place, the repelling of those pleas is a distinct assertion that *the civil court will not, and cannot, distinguish between things spiritual and things civil.* . . . That is a new thing for the civil courts to say—that they cannot trace the distinction between a matter spiritual—a matter avowedly affecting conscience alone—and a matter civil, touching person or property.' No. It was not a new thing at all for them to say. They had been saying it ever since the beginning of English and Scotch history. If they had not said it most unmistakeably, there would have been no Reformation. We should still have been groaning under a heavy uniformity, imposed upon us by the Roman Church. When the civil courts distinctly and solemnly asserted that they 'would not and could

not distinguish between things spiritual and things civil,' it would have been wise of Dr. Candlish to ask himself which was right. On the one side there were learned lawyers, grave judges, the House of Lords itself. On the other side were some schismatic ministers. The former had no interest whatever in the question. The latter had been actuated, from the first, by passion, and now had staked their all upon the issue. Whose judgment, then, was most likely to be right? Let us follow the lawyers and judges, and refuse to distinguish between things spiritual and things civil. Now let Dr. Candlish proceed with his speech. 'The other is that, as they cannot distinguish between *things*, so neither can they distinguish between *persons*. They cannot distinguish things spiritual from things civil . . . . *neither can they distinguish persons.*' Dr. Candlish was sincere, and spoke these words from his heart, no doubt. How pleasant it must have been to say these things! However well a man may have done, yet, if he goes away with the thought that he might have done better, then he is miserable; he is cast down; he gnaws his tongue for pain. On the other hand, if his performance has been a wretched failure, yet if he can manage to congratulate himself, and imagine himself superior to others, then he goes away a happy man, pleased with himself and with all the world. This was the sort of feeling which supported the Free Church schism. Yet that superiority over the laity, on which Dr. Candlish congratulated himself, had been the starting-point of the Romanists. From

that little seed in the heart of men, the whole great Roman system grew. From that seed another assumption always quickly springs—the Divine superiority and preeminence of the Church over the nation. Thus we find Dr. Candlish continuing to reason: 'It is an absolute *refusal to recognise any distinction between a church, or ecclesiastical body, and any other body of men associated* for any purpose whatever, in accordance with the law. . . . What we are called to contend for is, just the right of conscience—the right of conscience, both in individuals and in associations of individuals.' He immediately proceeds to put a meaning to this old worn-out pretext of 'the rights of conscience;' namely, '*the right of a society to meet*, avowing that it meets, not by mutual consent, but *by the* ORDINANCE OF HEAVEN. Of course *this plea is a plea of conscience*; and *it is only as a plea of conscience that we would ever expect the civil magistrate to recognise and respect it.* . . . We say that, unless we have *full liberty* as a society *to carry out our views*—to meet and act as a society constituted, not by mutual consent, but under the Divine ordinance, we are not enjoying the full benefit of the *toleration* and protection of the State.' That old cry for *toleration* was not forgotten (to which the Presbyterians of the time of the Commonwealth, their 'forefathers of 1638,' had applied such hard names). The Presbyterian Edwards, for instance, penned a solemn prayer for 'a miscarrying womb to the sectaries, that they may never bring forth that misshapen bastard-monster of a Toleration.'

Dr. Candlish next takes a step in advance, and assumes to himself and his brother clergy something very like infallibility. Conscience and Divine authority, with them, seem to be all one. Their assertions are the utterances of a Divine authority within their breasts. 'It is here precisely that *the element of conscience* comes in,—*the element of Divine authority*; not of Divine authority which we ask the civil court to believe that we have; but of Divine authority which we ask them to believe that we conscientiously say that we have; for that is all. We are not merely in the position of a body of men associated by mutual consent—*our association is not based upon consent merely.* Consent, as I have admitted, is indispensable to form the connection of any man with our body; but the association itself, although connection with it may be based on consent, is not itself based on consent.'*

THE CARDROSS CASE.

That speech of Dr. Candlish referred to a case, in the bosom of the Free Kirk, very much akin to the Auchterarder, Lenthendy, and Marnoch cases, in the Established Kirk. The cause was the same; the effects were very similar. The circumstances were, however, not identical; for the Free Kirk was not a National Church. Dr. Candlish, in his speech, has noticed the similarity of the two cases. Dr. Buchanan,

* Free Church publication, *Liberty of Unendowed Churches threatened.* Dr. Candlish's speech, Nov. 21.

in his pamphlet called 'Christ and Cæsar,' does the same: 'It is simply the old controversy in a slightly altered form. Again, as before, it is the *spiritual freedom* of the Church that is in question.' He then proceeds to state the question more at large, in doing which he agrees with what Dr. Candlish spoke:— 'It remains that there is a field which is exclusively her own, and into which no external human power may intrude, without trenching both on the sacred rights of conscience, and on the exercise and integrity of that authority which the Lord Jesus Christ, as the Head of the Church, has reserved to Himself alone. It was on this ground our Church took her stand in the great conflict with the courts of civil law, which preceded the disruption. It was to maintain this ground inviolate that she surrendered to the State all those temporal advantages and emoluments which it had conferred upon her; and cast herself, for her support, on the voluntary offerings of her own people, and on the protection and blessing of her heavenly King.'*

Mr. McMillan † was the minister of the parish of Cardross. He was indicted before the Presbytery on a charge of drunkenness, and tried upon three counts. By the Presbytery he was deposed, having been *found guilty* on the first and second counts, but

* *Christ and Cæsar*, pp. 1–3.

† The following facts I have learnt partly from the judgment of the Lord President of the Court of Session, as given in the *Edinburgh Courant*, Dec. 24, 1859, *et seq.*, and partly from Dr. Turner's short account of the Cardross case, Glasgow, 1861, and partly from the official documents of the actors in it.

acquitted on the third. Mr. McMillan thereupon appealed to the Synod. The Synod *acquitted* him on the first and second counts, but *convicted* him on the third. From the Synod McMillan appealed to the supreme ecclesiastical court of the Free Kirk, namely, to the General Assembly of the Free Kirk. He appealed, however, only against the conviction on the third count. He did not dispute the acquittals on the first and second counts. On this third count the General Assembly *acquitted* him. But they further took it upon them to convict him on the first and second counts, which had never been referred to them. From the conflicting judgments of this contradictory series of ecclesiastical courts, Mr. McMillan was bold enough to appeal to the civil courts. For venturing to commit such an heretical act, the Free Church instantly cast him out of their synagogue. 'McMillan was deposed under a law of the Church which expressly ordains, that "any appellation from the General Assembly to stop the discipline and order of ecclesiastical policy and jurisdiction granted by God's word to the office-bearers within the said" Church, by resorting to the civil power, shall be dealt with "summarily, and without any process or admonition."' *

They ejected him, not for having been drunk, but for having appealed from the Free Kirk Popedoms to the law of the land. His loyalty, it seems, was a greater sin than inebriation; and obeying the law a worse

* *Proceedings at the General Assembly of the Free Church*, Jan. 18, 1860, p. 8.

crime than disgracing his profession. Mr. McMillan then brought a second action against the Assembly, for having deposed him. As far as the principle in question was concerned, and as far as our present interest in them is concerned, these actions at law were essentially the same. In this light the General Assembly of the Free Kirk itself viewed them. 'Both of these actions are actions of reduction—actions, that is, which call on the *civil court to review* and reverse the *spiritual sentences* of suspension and deposition pronounced by the General Assembly of the Free Church against one of its own ministers, and to restore him "against the same *in integrum*"—to give him back, that is, the office and position that were taken from him. Now, it must surely strike every intelligent and dispassionate mind —every mind that *recognises any distinction whatever between things secular and things spiritual—between the things of Cæsar and the things of God*—that this is a most extraordinary demand to be entertained by a civil court even for a single moment.'*

There was, then, only one point at issue in these two actions. It was the very same point which, before this, had caused the disruption of the Free Kirk; namely, the distinction between secular and religious things. For when this is granted there follows, as a necessary consequence, the denial of 'the competency of the civil courts to touch the sentences of the Church, whatever their merit might be.' Dr. Candlish came

* *Proceedings at the General Assembly of the Free Church*, p. 29.

to this conclusion:—'Obviously this implies that we must assert the doctrine that—*let our proceedings be ever so irregular, and ever so contrary to the Court of Session's views of justice*—that Court has nothing to do with the sentences which we pronounced.'

In the trial on the first action, the complainant McMillan pleaded that the General Assembly of the Free Kirk had acted contrary to their own rules, in considering a question which was not before them. He alleged, in the trial on the second action, that they had deposed him because of his application to a civil court; and that he had brought the action in order to know if the General Assembly had acted in accordance with their own rules in doing so.

The account of the pleadings on the part of the defendants (that is, the General Assembly of the Free Kirk, who styled themselves 'the supreme court in ecclesiastical matters'), is thus given in the 'Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church, Jan. 18, 1860:'—

'It was urged for the defenders, that, *as a church of Christ*, they were entitled, in all matters of discipline, to exercise an *independent jurisdiction* in regard to such matters, *apart from the control of the civil courts*. The defenders referred particularly to the principles for which they had contended prior to the disruption in 1843. They represented that the Free Church took its origin in an abandonment, in 1843, of the secular advantages which its ministers, prior to that date, obtained from the State; and they showed that that sacrifice was made to secure an

exclusive jurisdiction to its courts in all matters spiritual, and for the express object of preventing any interference on the part of the civil courts with such sentences as the courts of the Church in matters spiritual should pronounce . . . . that "the claim of right" declares that "the government of the Church, thus appointed by the Lord Jesus, in the hand of Church officers, *is distinct from the civil magistrate* or supreme power of the State, and *flows directly from the Head of the Church to the office-bearers* thereof, to the *exclusion of the civil magistrate.*'"

The judges asserted their right to look into the terms of contract; to be informed, that is to say, of the obligations which McMillan and the Free Kirk had mutually entered into by the ordination of McMillan. They were constrained to learn the terms of the contract, in order that they might judge whether these obligations had been fulfilled, or whether, by a breach of contract, an injustice had been committed against McMillan. The Free Church, however, refused to produce any documents, or to allow their rules to be inquired into. 'These were,' said they, 'merely spiritual matters, and therefore beyond the cognisance of the civil power.' Moreover, the judges considered themselves bound to go even farther than that. They deemed it their duty to investigate and see whether the contract itself were in harmony with the law of the land; or whether, being contrary to law, it was invalid and nugatory. By these decisions the judges were, in fact, asserting as broadly as possible that there shall not be two

independent legislatures in one country—that two separate powers must necessarily clash—that an *imperium in imperio*, or a church separate from the nation, is quite intolerable. The Assembly of the Free Kirk, on the other hand, were setting themselves up above the constituted laws of the land. Mr. Wyld, who had been for fourteen years an elder of the Free Kirk, and had 'had the honour of repeatedly sitting as a member in her General Assembly,' rebuked them in these words: 'The position taken by you seems to go this length—that a church-court may break its own laws and inflict any amount of injustice on its own members, and that the law of the land cannot interfere.' *

The LORD PRESIDENT, in delivering judgment, denied that the Free Kirk Assembly were a court recognised by law. They were merely *tolerated* by law. If, therefore, the constitution and the rules of their society were not contrary to law, the law would not interfere between them and their members. But yet, even in that case, if they attempted to exercise an authority or power which Mr. McMillan had not recognised when he became a member of their society, the law would assuredly grant him redress.

The judgment of LORD IVORY was: 'The power of the defendants was that of every other dissenting church. It was the power possessed by every private association of individuals; namely, the power

* Wyld's *Cardross Case*, Edinburgh, 1860, p. 14.

of associating themselves together in all matters, without encroaching upon the law of the land. They might form a code of by-laws which should be binding within their own body, &c. But yet, by no contracts which the parties might enter into; by no by-laws to which they might agree, could they exclude the ordinary civil jurisdiction of the Court of Session to decide between them,' &c.

LORD CURRIEHILL held that 'the dissenting bodies in his country, though they were tolerated and protected by the State, were still, in their nature, voluntary associations founded on voluntary contracts.'

'If anything,' said LORD DEAS, 'be clear in the case, it is that the defenders are invested with NO JURISDICTION WHATEVER, ECCLESIASTICAL OR CIVIL. ALL JURISDICTION FLOWS FROM THE SUPREME POWER OF THE STATE. The sanction of the same authority which enacted the laws is necessary to the erection of courts and the appointment of judges and magistrates to administer the laws. *The Established Church of Scotland had and has this sanction.* The statute law of the land conferred upon it ecclesiastical jurisdiction, to be exercised by Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, provincial Synods, and General Assemblies. But there is no such statute law applicable to the association called the Free Church. When the defenders separated from the Establishment, they left all jurisdiction behind them. *No voluntary association can, by any agreement among its members, assume a jurisdiction which flows only from the legislative power and regal prerogative.* . . . The Presbyteries,

Synods, and Assemblies of the Free Church have not been erected into courts, either ecclesiastical or civil. The constituent members of these Presbyteries, Synods, and Assemblies, are not judges in any legal sense. They sit, and act, and vote, solely in virtue of private contract, regulating their proceedings among themselves, and *such contract neither does nor can confer upon them any jurisdiction whatever.*' *

Those were the facts of the famous Cardross case. They bear out all that I adduced them to support.

Dr. Buchanan was a prelate who, from his talents and position, took a very leading part in the discussion. He was in favour of the 'spiritual independence of the Church;' and consequently he was against the State or nation. Shortly after this (in 1860) he published a pamphlet. It was a sermon on the text 'Whosoever maketh himself a king, speaketh against Cæsar; if thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend.' The pamphlet is entitled 'Christ or Cæsar.' By these terms he designated 'the Free Kirk and the Nation.' In the following words he explains the bearings of the Cardross case:—

'The sentence that was delivered by the Church, and in virtue of which she deposed, from the office of the holy ministry, a man charged with, and publicly proved, to her satisfaction, to be guilty of flagrant immoralities; "being a spiritual act done in the ordinary course of discipline by a Christian

* Lord Deas's speech in the Cardross Case, December 23, 1859.

Church,"—*she holds that it is not competent for the civil courts to reduce it, and to set it aside.* That principle the civil judge has expressly rejected and disallowed. He has done so because he thinks that TO SANCTION IT WOULD BE TO SANCTION SUBSTANTIALLY THE SETTING UP OF A GOVERNMENT WITHIN A GOVERNMENT—*the setting up of a kingdom within a kingdom.* And, consequently, that, were he to allow what the Church claims, he would not be acting as Cæsar's friend—would not be, that is, discharging his duty to the temporal sovereign of this realm.*

'Let it be observed then, and distinctly noted, that *the principle which has been laid down in the recent decision is shortly and simply this—that "spiritual acts done by a Christian Church in the ordinary course of discipline may be reduced," that is, may be reversed and set aside by the courts of civil law.* Let it be further observed, that the doctrine thus propounded, and in the form of a legal judgment, has no reference to any one particular case. It is broad and general. *It applies to all spiritual acts whatsoever*, to every possible act which belongs to the spiritual government and discipline of a Christian Church. . . . That is to say, *the courts of civil law, to which Christ has given no authority* in spiritual things, and no right to rule in the house of God, hold themselves entitled, notwithstanding, to review and reverse the spiritual sentences of the Christian Church.† . . . . To depose a man from the ministry *is undoubtedly*

* *Christ or Cæsar*, p. 8. † *Ibid.* p. 12.

to affect his civil interests. In the case of the minister it may involve the loss of his living. In the case of the member of the Church, it may involve the loss of his reputation, and thereby, perhaps, may lead indirectly to his losing some worldly advantage which he previously enjoyed. And if, therefore, *this* be enough to entitle the civil tribunal to reverse and set aside the spiritual sentence the Church had in such cases pronounced, it simply and obviously follows that the Church's right of discipline is taken utterly away. *If exercised at all on such a footing, it is exercised in subordination to Cæsar and not to Christ.* The Church, if she submit to such a state of things, becomes of necessity the mere servant of men.* . . . In other words, the doctrine is now laid down *for the first time since the days of the Stuarts,* that the civil power is the fountain of all authority—ecclesiastical and spiritual as well as civil and temporal; and that *the claim of any Church whatever to hold and exercise spiritual jurisdiction directly from Christ, and in subjection to Him alone, is to be denied and disallowed within this kingdom.'* †

Dr. Buchanan evidently feels that the sphere of ecclesiastical and civil cases cannot be entirely discriminated nor accurately defined. They must necessarily trench upon each other. They must constantly interfere with each other. But he as manifestly also holds that, in every such case, the civil courts (that is to say, the State or nation),

* *Christ or Cæsar,* p. 14. † *Ibid.* p. 15.

as being of a lower origin, should succumb, and submit to be overruled by the Church. This springs from the assumption that there is a difference between secular and spiritual matters; it is a deduction from the postulate that the Church and the nation are two things, and not one. If the nation or the State is of a lower origin, then its authority is not from Christ. So that all powers are *not* of God. And what, then, is the origin of the nation? What is its fountain of authority? Ay, and what difference is there between a clergy who proceed upon such assumptions, and the Hildebrands of the Church of Rome?

The State, being the stronger of the two, terminated the dispute by declaring that McMillan had been unlawfully deposed, and was therefore still the minister of Cardross. It was well for Scotland that the nation was the stronger of the two. For mark the spirit in which the clergy submitted to the voice of the law. No proud prelate of Rome could have behaved more haughtily, under the galling sense of weakness, than did these Scotch divines. Dr. Candlish, for instance, said: 'Mr. McMillan, having got that, proclaims himself to be in the eye of the law the minister of the Free Church at Cardross. And he is entitled to proclaim himself to be in the eye of the law the minister of the Free Church at Cardross. Well, what follows? I don't suppose any Presbytery of our Church would go the same road that the Presbytery of Strathbogie went. But there might perhaps be found one or two *rebellious individuals*, or we might even find one or two honest but *crotchety*

men, who might come to the *opinion that they were* BOUND TO OBEY AND RESPECT THE CIVIL SENTENCE, and to recognise Mr. McMillan as minister of the Free Church at Cardross.'*

The Presbytery of Strathbogie, it will be remembered, had chosen to obey the injunction of the law-court, rather than the opposing and seditious fiat of the Church. Their reward had been expulsion from the synagogue, by that very Church of Scotland from whom the Free Kirk had seceded. Dr. Candlish, therefore, prided himself that no one could be found in the Free Kirk, who would be so 'rebellious' against the Church, as to obey the law of the land. Unless, perchance, one or two 'crotchety' individuals might turn up, who would be wrong-headed enough to obey the sentence of the civil courts. Verily, that elder, of fourteen years' standing in the Free Kirk, did well in rebuking his compeers, using such warning words as these: 'Let us not, in quest of freedom, break through that line which separates liberty from license. Let the history of past churches remind us how closely behind that line stand tyranny and oppression, confusion and dishonour.'†

It may be said, however, that one incautious ecclesiastic might have uttered 'wild and whirling words' like those; and that the full meeting might, indeed, have responded, by 'loud cheers,' to his lawless exhortations and seditious insinuations; but that such was not the feeling of the Church itself.

* *Liberty of Unendowed Churches threatened*, p. 13.
† Wyld's *Cardross Case*, p. 7.

At the General Assembly of the Free Kirk they hesitated not to incite openly and boldly to disobedience, to resistance, to civil war. And these exhortations were then deliberately published in the 'Proceedings of the Assembly.'

'I believe, had there been no extrication from that great struggle, such as the disruption presented, we might have anticipated speedily *a civil war*; and let the judges understand that in this instance they are driving us to the wall if they prosecute their views. If they do so, we have *no alternative but to resist*; we *cannot obey* them if they attempt to reduce or alter our sentences.'*

What cause was there for all these warning mutterings of suppressed discontent, and loud-mouthed talk of 'civil war?' Simply because the decision of the law-courts had proved to them that they — a clergy-church — could not override the nation; that two independent powers could not coexist in a state without collision; and that they would not be suffered to obtain even that partial and ephemeral success which Rome had once enjoyed. Dr. Buchanan himself confessed this when he wrote:† 'That decision, if finally sustained and confirmed by the supreme civil tribunals, will *strike a death-blow at the spiritual independence of our Church* . . . . and practically subvert, on a vital and fundamental point, the sacred rights of *conscience* and the grand principles of religious *toleration*.'

* *Proceedings at the General Assembly of the Free Church*, 1860, p. 55.
† *Christ or Cæsar*, p. 1.

Whenever any bad work has to be perpetrated, the first politic step is to invent a pretty name for it. This name must then be adroitly put into talking men's mouths. When sedition had to be inflamed, and rebellion commenced, in the 'interests of the Church,' the politicians of Rome took care to speak of it beforehand as a 'holy warfare,' or a 'crusade.' Here Rome's imitators speak of defiance of the law, of resistance, and of civil war, under the euphemistic and ensnaring titles of 'rights of conscience,' and 'religious toleration.' Remember what Cromwell said of that use of the word 'conscience' in his day; or what the Presbyterian Edwards said of it in his 'Gangræna:'—'The devil, being wroth at his casting out—in Popery, superstition, prelacy—strives and endeavours, by this pretended "*liberty of conscience*," to enter in with seven other spirits more wicked than before, and to make the last estate of England worse than the first.' This was not merely Edwards's own notion. He was expressing the conclusion at which most men in his day had arrived. Such euphemisms pass current, and do their work well, as long as no one cares to see what they mean. The worst friend such euphemists can have is a man who tries to define the terms he uses. Mr. Murray Dunlop honestly attempted to do this, in a speech which he delivered at the General Assembly of the Free Kirk, January 18, 1860. '*The essence of* LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE, and the liberty of discipline, is this: that the religious body, and *the religious body alone, should be the authority to determine* who are to be their

own members and their own office-bearers; and any interference with their decision, in regard to office-ships or membership is a VIOLATION OF CONSCIENCE which cannot be allowed, in accordance with the principles of TOLERATION. Our idea is that they are *not matters cognisable by the civil courts at all*—that they are not to be enforced by the civil authorities—that they are *wholly under the sanction of* CONSCIENCE alone.' * The 'rights of conscience,' therefore, is a term to denote a church's entire independence of the law of the land; or rather, a church's predominance over the nation. Anything short of this is said to be 'contrary to the principles of toleration.' Mr. Dunlop was fully supported in this view by Dr. Candlish and other spiritual advisers. To brazen out such an arrogant claim, a church must pretend to enjoy a monopoly of divine authority, which puts them far above the heads of the nation, and renders them as exempt from the law of the land as Pandulph or Becket ever desired to be. The Free Church are not coy in putting forward such a pretence:—

'It is not because Lord Deas withheld the term jurisdiction from us, that we feel aggrieved. It is not even because he withheld the thing in some technical or legal sense of it; but it is because he withheld it in the only sense in which, as a Church, we can legitimately possess or exercise it—and that is, in the sense of *an authority derived, not from the*

* *Speech of A. Murray Dunlop, Esq.* Edinburgh: Nelson. 1860.

mere voluntary consent of parties, but derived expressly, immediately, EXCLUSIVELY *from the Lord Jesus Christ,* who is the "Head of the body the Church." It is by their own voluntary consent that men place themselves under this authority; but *the authority itself flows* not from the consenting parties, but *from Christ Himself*; and it is in His name, and not in theirs, that it is exercised.' *

This is very like the introduction of a canon law into Scotland—under another name, of course. A divine authority is as distinctly claimed by the Free Kirk, as it was by Hildebrand or Leo. The Free Church clergy are the pupils and imitators of Laud; and have excelled their master in error,—not in misfortune.

It is, moreover, very remarkable that, considering the pretence which was put forward at the commencement of the struggle, they should so soon have the boldness to affirm that the power does not proceed from the people; that it is not the congregation who have the authority to determine who are to be their own members and their own office-bearers: that it is the clergy alone who can legitimately possess or exercise an authority which is derived, not from the consent of parties, but from the Lord Jesus Christ—an authority which is derived from Him expressly, immediately, and exclusively by the clergy. By a sort of apostolical succession, they have (say they) a divine legation and authority, as

* *Proceedings at the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, Jan.* 18, 1860, p. 39.

the vicars of Christ upon earth. 'Let us (we read again in the same Proceedings of the Assembly) let us stand on the broad ground, that we have a right from Christ Himself.'

On this broad and pleasant Roman road we shall leave them. Let us prefer the straight and narrow way of a National Church; and take warning from the Scotch, who, having forsaken the somewhat straightened ramparts of the National Church, galloped along the 'Way of the Sectaries,' and now proceed towards the Latin form.

NOTE.—The General Assembly of the National Church seem to have learned by experience, and retraced their steps. If they had not, there would have been another Lenthendy case in last May. (See *Times* of June 4, 1863.) The Crown, as patron, it appears, presented a minister to the parish of Dunbog. He was vetoed by the people, who proceeded to choose some one else. Apparently the Crown made another presentation. The case was taken before the Presbytery of Cupar, and then before the Synod of Fife. At last the Assembly stepped in and ordered the investiture of the Crown nominee to be proceeded with.

CHAPTER VI.

Excessere omnes, adytis arisque relictis Dei, quibus imperium hoc steterat.

AS factions in the body politic weaken the external action of the nation, so do sects in the Church diminish the effectiveness of the 'association for putting down evil.' We have seen that the characteristic of Americanism, or the way of the Sectaries, is dissolution and division. Each congregation seeks to be something complete in itself: it would be separate and independent. Yet even in that little society called a congregation, there is no unity; there is no organisation. 'The will of the majority' is said, forsooth, to be the law which constitutes their unity. 'The will of the majority' (say they) is our only law, in discipline and in doctrine. But what does this expression mean? Is it not altogether a false assumption? How can a majority have a will, unless it be a person? The expression has been devised in order to avoid the scandal of the truth. What they should say is, that the greater number of individual, isolated, separate wills, determine what laws they shall observe, enjoin the discipline which they shall practise, invent the doctrine which they shall maintain. They mean

that they acknowledge no authority external to man's own will; they allow no other influence, they abjure all unity.

The proper test of a disputed principle in politics (and it is to political ground that I confine myself) is to consider what have been the consequences, whenever that principle has been fully carried out—whenever that motive has been followed without flinching. What, then, have been the consequences of the National Church and of the Congregational systems respectively, as shown in history? A kingdom or nation divided against itself can never stand. Which, then, of the two has tended most to unite a people? Which of the two has been found to dispose them most to dissolution? Have we not seen in history that it is the national form of Church which tends to 'exalt the nation,' while the effect of Americanism is to 'divide the people?'

The first aim of the Sectaries is '*edification.*' Each of them seeks the 'edification' of himself; all he cares for is to 'save his soul.' This is a selfish, isolating, dividing motive. There is alienation and hatred bound up with it. It is the very contrary to 'going about to do good.' The Sectaries put themselves in the first place, and forget that they are merely instruments, or means to an end. There is no unity in a number of men who seek each his own edification. Nor yet can there be any bond of union between the sects; for all do not sorrow when one suffers reverses; and when one sect advances, all do not joy with it. On the other hand, the primary

object of a National Church is (1) to put down evil without, as well as (2) to assist in conquering bad passions within. (1) A National Church makes war upon evil, and has therefore a pastoral character. Everyone within a certain district of country, whatever his circumstances, whatever his opinions may be, comes under the care of the rector. The contrary is the case with the Sectaries: they do not make war upon evil; they seek the edification of a select few. I use the words of a Nonconformist when I assert that 'dissenting ministers, therefore, recognise no care of souls beyond their own congregations, which contain even a smaller proportion of the working classes than the churches of the Establishment. In fact, the regular pastoral visitation of their own people is, in our large towns, the exception and not the rule. So that the bulk of the working classes, with the exception of the Roman Catholics, are thrown for pastoral visitation, succour, and consolation, upon the Church of England, which does, at least, recognise, and attempt to discharge, this function.' * Which of these two is less selfish in its aim, and tends most to unity in the nation? Which disposes most to divisions in the people?

(2) And with regard to the second object. Has it not been made manifest by the facts themselves, as well as by the testimony of others (as I shall presently show), that Americanism springs from pride; which is necessarily a repugnant and isolating feeling? Has

* *The Churches, the People, and the Pew System*, p. 11.

not the way of the Sectaries always been associated with a spirit of disobedience and lawlessness, and a 'despising of dignities?' A National Church, on the other hand, as its enemies have often avowed, breeds a submissive spirit, and is allied with monarchy.

While a National Church, therefore, is a unity or totality, the characteristic of Americanism, or the way of the Sectaries, is subdivision. The latter, indeed, is not one thing. Americanism is a collective term which denotes many incompatible and warring atoms—a 'subdichotomy of petty schisms.' It rests upon a number of separate, nay, even rival, dissents. It is a sandhill of sects; and each sect is a crumbling congeries of disconnected atoms.

Division has ever engendered new divisions; schism is prolific. Societies, as well as men, always reap as they have sown. In a society which owes its origin to secession, a beaten minority ever seeks solace in schism. It is the only way of asserting that self-will which the system has tended to foster. And, as such a resource has already received countenance, and even eulogy from all the sect, the minority feel assured that they cannot be doing wrong in seceding from the majority. A minority of that new sect, at some future day, is sure to follow the same course. And then its own turn comes to suffer a like disruption. For where there are no inducements to submit to a majority (such as emoluments or force), there separations are caused by much slighter differences of opinion. A sect, therefore, binds with much weaker inducements than

a National Church. From these causes, as we have already seen throughout the history of sectarianism, schisms ever follow upon schism; and subdivision is the fury which is sent to dog the heels of disunion. This is true of the Church as a political institution; it is equally true of all the other affairs of the nation. In America, for instance, they sowed dragon's teeth when they rose in rebellion against us; and now crops of armed men have leapt out of the furrows to fight them:—

> Blood follows blood; and through their mortal span
> In bloodier acts conclude those who with blood began.

This is the wraith which hangs over each man and each body of men who make a separation, whether ecclesiastical or political. It may tarry for a time: the retribution is sure to come at last.

This multiplication of sects proceeds from differences of opinion. The unity of a National Church proceeds from this—that it does not stand upon opinion. Church-membership does not depend upon doctrine. The office of the Church is not to promulgate doctrines. Her function is to make men be good citizens; just, honest, upright, godly men. It is in this that the great fundamental difference lies between a National Church and every other form of church. A church which professes to be the nation (or, in cant phrase, 'identical with the State') casts dogma entirely out of the question; while a church which claims to be separate from the nation, must recommend itself by the promulgation of certain doctrines—it must put forward and enforce its

opinions. To do this effectively it must lay claim to inspiration, to Divine authority, and even to infallibility. If it has physical power at command, it uses such measures as the Scotch resorted to in order to enforce 'uniformity of opinion;' or even calls to its aid the horrors of an Inquisition. If it is too small and weak, then it breaks up and crumbles into even smaller sects. For opinion cannot form a bond of union. Dogma can never unite men together. What does the denial of this axiom amount to? As an opinion always begins with one man, the assertion that opinion can become a bond of union amounts to the exalting of one man's opinion over the moral good of all. It is worse even than this. For opinion is ever varying; notions are, in their very nature, fluctuating; men's imaginations and doctrines are shadowy. Dogma, at one time, causes rabid persecution; at another, gelid indifference: for it depends not on truth, but on passion. But the sense of right and wrong never changes. One man may have his conscience seared more than another; his sense of right may be weak and dim: but right itself is something permanent and ever-abiding. It is the same for all men; although some men's sight of it may be more impaired than that of others. The aim of a *National* Church (in that it repudiates dogma for its basis) must be to improve the sense of right in the nation. While every other form of Church exalts fluctuating opinions to the throne of truth; they all profess to stand upon the quicksands of dogma. 'The man of any school who habitually

confounds his own opinions with truth, will cease to believe in truth, will lose all power of distinguishing between the accidental and the essential, the temporary and the permanent. . . . In fact, the noble assertion of a right to think, the right to be human, which our ancestors made, is rapidly passing into the right *not* to think, but simply to hold an opinion, because it is ours, against all invasions of thought, against all communion with other minds.' *

The 'Church meetings' of the Sectaries are for the most part composed of men with slender education and narrow views. Yet they consider themselves competent to decide any question which comes before them. They meet together, therefore, not to deliberate, but to give their opinions, to state their prejudices and notions. There is no controlling authority over their liberty of opinion. There is not even an executive power to repress disaffection, or to secure the fixity and permanence of any decision. Hence the minority, though beaten in open voting; though foiled in the attempt to establish their own opinions by intrigue or by agitation, have still the approved course of secession left open to them. Schism is in accordance with their practice. It is the logical consequence of holding that there is no authority between their own opinions and God.

Or if, on the other hand, they repudiate such a conclusion, and profess to acknowledge the authority

* The Rev. F. D. Maurice, in *Macmillan's Magazine*, Oct. 1860.

of a majority of the society, then they condemn themselves. By this avowal they resign the whole ground of their resistance to the Church of the nation. How can they any more pretend that the established order of national society shall not be paramount? On what ground can they claim to sacrifice it to their prejudices or opinions? Why should not the deliberate voice of the nation outweigh the opinions of some individual members of the nation? Is not such a rule much more cogent in the national affairs of the Church than in any other matters which concern the nation?

What if a limb of the human body did not move according to the direction of the brain; should we not call that limb paralysed? And this paralysis would prove a serious deterioration in the health of the whole. For such a misfortune to occur, the whole body must be sick, from the crown of the head unto the sole of the foot. A nation is a body politic: a sect is the paralysis of a part. And this portends a common ill throughout the whole. The sect acknowledges no authority but themselves: they have no connection with the rest of the body: they own no commands which flow to them through the appointed nervous channels, from the rest of the body. How can Christ be the Head of many rival and mutually maligning sects unless 'Christ be divided?' If He is the Head of all the body politic — the Head of the National Church—then must all work together and cooperate for one common object. The National Church must be acknowledged; the

association for putting down evil must no longer be weakened by division and obstructed by schism.

Sectarian differences are founded on opinion. Opinion arises from misty abstractions, not from knowledge. This became manifest in our consideration of Americanism in Scotland. Many persons (we observed) look upon the nation as one thing, and regard the Church and the State as two other things. The nation is a very palpable thing. But both Church and State with them, are two abstractions; which, in their opinion, are of utterly incompatible and irreconcileable natures. Yet what is the State if it be not the nation? Where there is a thorough despotism, the Government may call itself the State. But that can be only where the nation is nothing; where it is of no account whatsoever. Where the nation is of any account, it lets its voice be heard through Parliament; it makes its power felt, and its sovereignty seen in the person of its monarch; it permits its affairs to be administered by servants or ministers, who are responsible to its executive. In such a case what is the State but the nation? What, again, is the National Church, but the nation? Where there is a Roman or a Russian despotism, the Church may be ultramontane, and not the same as the nation. Wherever a nation holds doctrines and opinions, instead of meeting for worship, there will be a number of *imperia in imperio*; but no Church at all. These are the abnormal cases. But where there is a right and proper Church, is it not necessarily the nation? The nation, the Church, and

the State, then, are not three things, but one thing; if it is really a nation, it is really a Church. If this be conceded, then how can any man suggest that his Church should be independent of the State or nation? It is absurd. It is equally ridiculous for a man to assert his right to separate from the National Church; which is, to set himself up against the nation; which he does do, where the Church is the nation.

If we bear this in mind, we cannot be astonished at that which has been mentioned by Lord Clarendon* and by nearly every other historian. Namely, that 'a proud and rebellious dislike against the discipline of the Church of England' has always been accompanied by irreverence to the government of the State. Let us leave the high position of the National Church; and, issuing from those ramparts, follow out this fact, and spy a little more closely into this aspect of the Sectaries.

Loyalty, or the subjection of the interests of the individual man to those of the whole society, was the basis of Greek political philosophy, and of the actual republics of Athens and Sparta. Modern Europe, on the other hand, has for many years been travelling to the other extreme. We seek to leave the individual man uncontrolled, even to the detriment of the State. Our aim is rather to preserve license for each man, than to maintain the unity, and health, and strength of the nation. Each man, we say, is to be left to himself, and must not be interfered with, as long as he does not infringe upon

* *History of the Rebellion*, p. 80.

the rights of others. In this anarchical fashion do we idolise the 'rights of individuals;' although it tends to the dissolution of society, to the destruction of Church and nation. The Geneva divines have invented a name for Sectarianism which carries with it this idea. They call it '*Individualism*,' as opposed to the 'many in one' of the National Church. The word denotes the right of private opinion carried to its utmost limits; it betokens the condition of society when everyone is 'what is good in his own eyes'—when men look upon themselves (to use Dr. Arnold's words) 'as independent of their fellows, cultivating a proud and selfish idolatry of what belongs to them individually.' The term signifies the desire for what Bacon calls '*bonum suitatis*, to the neglect of the good of the whole Body.' '*The right of private judgment* is a euphemism which is used to denote the same. This term implies an utter want of judgment; for judgment is a universal thing. It should be called the right of individual opinion. Judgment is delivered after testimonies have been weighed. Yet a whole life is scarcely sufficient to examine and weigh a tithe of the evidence on that subject, where alone the 'right of private judgment' is claimed. To commence even the examination of the evidence, the acquisition of much learning, erudition, and classical lore is previously requisite; and where this has not been acquired, many things must necessarily be taken for granted, on the bare assertion of some other man. But how few of those who clamour for the 'right of private judgment' do really care to

think and judge! The whole congregation follows a popular minister, and holds whatever opinions he chooses to assert. The many swallow the news of their customary journal, and give back in an undigested state whatever they may have read there. Some pick out from the crowd one man for their hero, and stand by all he chances to utter. Others catch at the first thing that happens to have been said by anyone, and babble it as their own opinion. None of these think for themselves: none form any judgment. If they did really judge, they would no more call that judgment 'private,' than a man would call truth or reason a possession peculiar to himself. The claim of 'private judgment' is therefore dishonesty and hypocrisy; or else it means nothing but a self-willed determination to hold peculiar opinions.

But what then, it will be said, did the Reformers mean by their claim for the right of judgment, by which they set so much store? They really looked for judgment. They were learned men, and desired to investigate the foundations and seek for the true 'form.' Individual opinion had no more to say to this operation than to an inquiry into title-deeds, or an examination into the steps of a mathematical proof. The Reformers never set up a claim that illiterate and incompetent men should each form opinions or invent fancies for himself, without study or examination. They desired, as being the most learned in the land, to investigate and deliberate, and cautiously arrive at a definite conclusion. And even when they had accomplished this, they did not desire to thrust any

dogmas upon others: they sought only to unfold their learning and explain their conclusions. Those, on the contrary, who now make an outcry about the 'right of private judgment,' are precisely those who would persecute all who differ from them, who smart when foiled in argument, indulge in party rancour, and feel all the burnings of sectarian animosities. Our ancestors asserted a right to learn and think, and see the steps of proof. All that now is claimed is a license to adopt a farrago of party shibboleths. In learning Euclid or algebra, a boy exercises his power of judging. A few years ago an American wrote a book to prove that Euclid and algebra were based on utterly fallacious grounds. He was exercising what is called the 'right of private judgment;' which men say should be respected. Yet this author met with scorn even in America. Similarly do those deserve only scorn who repudiate the grounds of allegiance to the Queen, and assert some novel theory of the constitution of Church and State; although it is the right and duty of every man to inquire into and understand the constituted laws of his country.

The term is occasionally varied. '*Conscience*' and '*toleration*' (as we have seen) are hackneyed terms, used by Sectaries to conceal the same fallacy. They make conscience an excuse for schism; just as Paul thought he was in conscience bound to kill the Christians. An impatience of government, law, and order, is, in modern Europe, attributed to conscience. Hallam writes that the Puritans held the law of Moses to be still binding on the conscience; and

thought they were bound to kill adulterers, Sabbath-breakers, and idolaters (or Papists). It was, therefore, contrary to the principles of *religious toleration* to restrain them from following such dictates of their conscience. Prynne declares that, in his day, 'freedom of conscience' was the common plea for unrestrained 'licentiousness.' At the time of the Commonwealth, indeed, the plea for 'the rights of conscience' was very much in vogue, until it had become too common and vulgar. D'Aubigné writes* that 'the Parliamentarians . . . . had called for the suppression of that "*new heresy*," entitled liberty of conscience; and had laboured earnestly to this end.' Edwards's 'Gangræna' is full of declamation against 'conscience' and 'toleration.' For example: 'Toleration! why, it is the grand design of the Devil. It is the masterpiece, the chief engine, by which he keeps up his tottering kingdom. Other evils are against some one or two passages of Scripture; but this is against them all. This is the Abaddon, the Apollyon, the abomination of desolation, the destroyer of all religion, the liberty of perdition.' Robert Baillie, Scotch Commissioner to the Westminster Assembly, in his 'Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time, 1645,' wrote: 'Liberty of conscience, and toleration of all or any religion, is so prodigious an impiety, that this religious Parliament cannot but abhor the very naming of it.' Those were the words of the representative of Scotland. In Scotland now, as we have seen, conscience is the excuse

* *Protector*, p. 249.

for forming a clergy-church, and setting up an *imperium in imperio.* There certainly can be a true plea of conscience, as well as that false pretext which is so commonly put forward by pride and self-sufficiency, and shows such a disregard for the consciences of others. True and false pleas of conscience can easily be distinguished. When a man really has scruples of conscience, he is anxious to learn, and is glad of any light which is given to him. Those who use the name of conscience as a pretext generally fly into a passion when you seek to expose the vanity of their scruples.

Cromwell turned round the plea for the rights of conscience into an argument for maintaining the National Church. In 1654, he said: 'Again, is not liberty of conscience in religion, a fundamental? *So long* as there is liberty of conscience *for the supreme magistrate to exercise his conscience in erecting what form of Church government* he is satisfied he should set up, why should he not give the like liberty to others? Liberty of conscience is a natural right; and he that would have it ought to give it; *having himself liberty to settle what he likes for the public.* Indeed, that hath been one of the vanities of our contest. Every sect saith, "Oh, give me liberty!" *But give it him, and to his power he will not yield it to anybody else.* Where is our ingenuousness? Liberty of conscience, truly, is a thing ought to be very reciprocal! *The magistrate hath his supremacy*; HE MAY SETTLE RELIGION ACCORDING TO HIS CONSCIENCE.' *

* Carlyle's *Cromwell*, iii. p. 392.

But, say they, changing the venue, our objections are not on doctrinal points, and therefore have nothing to do with conscience; we demur to fixed forms and rituals. Who, then, in one of their congregations, has the authority to make rules? Who is it that imposes forms and lays conditions on those who are admitted into their congregation or are ordained as their ministers?

1. Is it the minister who first gathered the congregation together? He then assumes as much inherent authority as any Pope usurps; while he denies to the King and Parliament of the nation a power to frame ecclesiastical laws which shall bind the National Church. In repudiating the National Church they thus slip into the Roman form.

2. Or is it the congregation which does this? It comes then to this: that to any petty conventicle of fanatic clodpoles there is given a greater ecclesiastical authority than may safely be committed to the Parliament and King of the realm. The pastor is bound by rules of doctrine and confined by a system of worship, which have been devised for him by his congregation. This, then, is the American form.

3. Or have these forms been established of old by some ecclesiastical authority of bygone days? If so, they are in the same condition as we are, although they rail against us for it. Nay, worse. For they exact conformity within their pale more rigidly than we do. They are far more fierce in censure, if one of their members conforms to some other forms. They have tests which they apply

among themselves. They have certain shibboleths which they require constantly to hear. They practise far stricter discipline on their members than the Church was ever known to impose. I do not complain of this as unreasonable. For there must be rules to bind every club, society, or association. This is inevitable. Without supreme rules it would not be a society. The minority must give way to the majority, and all must bow to law. It is this which is unreasonable: that they should separate from others for that which they practise themselves. A club or sect may be associated in a separate community, and may legislate for themselves in matters of convenience or modes of worship, and may bind the minority by the votes of the majority. No sectarian objects to this. Then why may not the nation at large, *à fortiori*, be associated in one body, called the Church, and legislate for themselves, and bind by just laws the minority who differ from the rest of the nation? To this the schismatics demur. Therefore they arrogate to themselves certain rights which they deny to the whole nation.

We are thus brought round again to the old characteristic of Sectaries. We have already observed it in the history of their crooked ways. They distinguish themselves by want of submission. They are like those to whom Paul said, 'If any be contentious, we have no such rule, neither the Church of God.' The nature of Americanism is a disregard of law and authority, a want of loyalty, an aversion to submit; which they excuse to themselves by calling it con-

science. This must always be the case with those who forget that law or right is an abiding reality, and does not depend on the will of a congregation, nor even of a whole people. This character affects their political dealings, as well as their ecclesiastical acts. Bishop Hall,* speaking of the 'severalties of the sects, and their separate congregations about this city,' in his day, says, 'Woe be to those by whom the offence cometh: lay your hand on your hearts onwards, and consider well whether your fomenting of *so unjust and deep dislikes of lawful government* have not been too much guilty of these woful breaches.' He moreover mentions the fact that, during that one session of Parliament, no less than seventy-two 'seditious pamphlets' had been published, and all of them by the Sectaries. Prynne attests the same fact in his quaint language.† 'Yet when I consider their many late seditious, printed, libellous pamphlets against monarchy, magistracy, ministry, the priviledges and eminentest members, ordinances, proceedings, votes of both and either Houses, yea Parliaments themselves, the Assembly, Directory, tithes, parochial churches, universities, yea our laws, statutes, *and whatsoever hath the stamp of magistracy, order, or decency upon it*, &c. . . . . How dare they lift up their head against you (the House of Commons) who seeth not? How do they manifest their discontents against you, in pamphlets and pulpits, in their sermons and prayers?' &c.

* *Defence of the Remonstrance*, p. 151.
† *Sword of Christian Magistracy supported*, 1647.

It is this want of submission which causes among all Sectaries that which Milton called 'the subdichotomy of petty schisms.' If a man differs from the sect he was born in, he leaves and joins another. He differs from them, so he founds a new sect of his own. This self-willed disregard of authority, and lawless desire to have no law but a man's own will (which, as I have said, is miscalled 'conscience'), proceeds merely from untamed pride. This was evinced in its unblushing and naked deformity in Smectymnuus' answer. This pamphlet was not hastily put together by some hot-brained controversialist. It was the deliberate and careful composition of five notorious men.* In the postscript to this answer they rail at Augustine in these words: 'His ignorance in the Gospel which he preached is seen in his idle and judaïcal consultations with the Pope,' &c. Does not such a sentence argue great pride in those learned and notable authors? Baxter, even, speaks of the 'pride, ignorance, censoriousness, headiness, and rashness' of the Sectaries of his day. He testifies the 'ungovernable and factious humour of this sort of people,' and asserts that 'they are ever ready to scorn and vilify the gravest and wisest pastors.'† Again, in another book‡ he wrote: '*We are endangered by divisions, principally because the self-conceited part of the religious people will not be ruled*

* Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcommen, and William Spurston.

† *Cure of Divisions*, p. 393.

‡ *Sacriledgious Desertion*, p. 103.

by their pastors, *but must have their own way, and will needs be rulers* of the Church and them.' Richard Hooker, on the part of the Church, corroborates the complaint uttered by Baxter from the body of the Sectaries:* 'Who seeth not how full gorged they are with virulent, slanderous, and immodest speeches, tending much to the disgrace — to the disproof, nothing—of that cause which they endeavour to overthrow? . . . . "The way of peace they have not known." How sober and sound soever our proceedings may be, all is vain which we do to abate the errors of men, except their *unruly affections be bridled. Self-love, vain-glory, impatience, pride, pertinacity, these are the bane of our peace.*' These testimonies relate to a bygone age, it is true. I have, however, already shown that the way of the Sectaries is exactly the same, and springs from the same causes, at whatever time it appears, in whatever country it is found. We may be inclined to allow the truth of this in regard to America and Scotland. But lest we might claim for our own English Sectaries a somewhat better character than they deserve, I will adduce the evidence of Ostler, himself born and bred a Dissenter:— 'But *the first principle of Dissent* is a principle *of pride*; for it is to make every man a standard to himself, teaching him to assert his *independence of all authority*, with his full right to think without control, and to act as he shall think proper. The miserable *self-sufficiency* which this principle tends

* *A Discovery of the Causes of the Continuance of these Contentions concerning Church Government*, by Richard Hooker.

to create, is fostered by every circumstance of his position. There is no one whose judgment he must respect, and whose authority he is required to obey; no office which is placed beyond his reach. An embarrassed meeting and a dependent minister give importance to every adherent. . . . . The isolated condition of every meeting, and its entire dependence upon its own resources, make it the one object of interest to its adherents. . . . Disguise itself as it may, INDEPENDENCY IS BUT THE APPLICATION OF SELFISHNESS TO RELIGION, teaching every man to be wise in his own conceit, and in the loftiness of his heart to esteem himself better than others.' *

Here is the fair and candid evidence of a Dissenter. He solemnly avers that self-sufficiency is the soul of Americanism. It is pride which makes the way of the Sectaries. It begins when a man entertains the conceit that he is able to judge for himself in all cases, although he calls that act of self-will by the name of 'conscience.' It ends by his becoming intolerant of everything superior to him; for everything which is superior is a testimony to his deficiency. He exalts his own opinions and notions above the judgment of others. He assumes that he is wiser than the ancient teachers of his country. He rebels against everyone who disputes his prejudices and every institution which curbs his self-will. And this is fostered and cherished as a religious duty; it is called conscience; it is made into a Church-form. They have laid another foundation

* *Church and Dissent*, p. 105.

than that which has been laid. This foundation is not the spirit of meekness, of order, of submission, of brotherly love. The foundation for the Church of the Sectaries is pride and self-will. Each Sectary constitutes himself the witness of the truth. His free assent is a sufficient arbiter of truth for him, although he is unlearned, illiterate, ignorant of all basis of proof, too indolent to investigate into the facts. He founds his faith and worship on no ground but his own private opinion. Does not this amount to an enthroning of a Divine authority in each person? Each man, in fact, assumes that truth is nothing but what he troweth; instead of regarding truth as something independent of all men, which may be either known or not known, but which can never be a matter of opinion. Socrates and Plato condemned opinion as opposed to truth, and liable to lead men astray from the truth. So did Confucius. So do these Sectaries in every affair except in the most important of all. Their doctor tells them what is true or false in medical matters. Their lawyer tells them what is or is not the case with regard to Acts of Parliament. They seek to learn the truth concerning an estate from their land-surveyor. Yet, in the weightiest affairs of the welfare of the nation, each man assumes that his own hasty notion must be the truth. He takes for granted that this is a firmer ground to build the tottering edifice of his sect upon, than the whole broad basis of the nation itself. This proud notion weakens the nation's power to put down evil, while it makes the man a Sectary.

'But,' say they, 'we do not constitute ourselves the arbiters of truth: we appeal to the Holy Scriptures; the Bible is our standard of truth!' Grant this to be the case; yet the difficulty is thereby merely moved a step further; it is not removed altogether. For whom is the Bible the standard of truth? Is it the only standard of truth for every one? Or is there some one who is to determine what is and what is not proved by the Scriptures? If the latter, then the Scriptures are not the standard of truth for you. You set up a Pope for yourself, to tell you what has been proved: to dictate what you are to believe as incontestably true. This is Romanism. If, on the other hand, you each of you hold that your own opinions and notions concerning Scripture are the truth, then you either bind others to believe the same doctrines as you do, denying to them that right of private judgment which you claim for yourself; or else you still set up your own opinions and notions of what is true, as the one only standard of truth for yourself alone, and make them the sole ground whereon your own faith rests. This is Americanism. This is the way of the Sectaries. Each one arrogates to himself the gift of infallibility. For it is impossible at first, one would think, for men to sit down contented with a creed of blanks and generalities, until all the freshness and honesty of life has been worn away. They cannot say to themselves, 'All this may be true, or it may not. There may be an ever-living God, who is the judge of all the earth, or there may not. He may love me, or

He may care nothing for the world. He may be ready to help me in conquering my selfish passions, and He may be a guide to me in every step I take, or else all my trust and confidence may be *tolerabiles ineptiæ*, poor pardonable triflings.' Who could be satisfied with such a state of mind as this? Well, then, if you are not satisfied, then you must be convinced that you yourself hold the truth. Everyone who differs from you is, therefore, in error. Can you, then, consent to leave them to perish in their error? or will you pertinaciously assert the truth which you hold? The Roman Church does this on the authority of Popes or bishops, who authoritatively expound the truth for their votaries. But you, each of you, interpret for yourselves, and say, 'This which I hold is the truth; what you hold is, therefore, false.' Thus Americanism is nothing but a multiplication of Popes; it is a sort of monstrous hydra-headed Popedom. Nay, it is, in some things, inferior to Popery. It wants the submission and implicit obedience of Popery (virtues, surely, although they be wrongly directed). It wants, too, the firmness and pertinacity, and, therefore, antiquity of Popery. While the choice of each man's fancy, or the conviction (if you like) of each man's understanding, makes but a fickle, wavering, and unstable foundation; and can never be a bond of union.

Each of these two parties takes its stand upon dogma and opinions. Therefore it is that both forms are wrong. A good man, a godly citizen, is something much better than all the creeds and doctrines,

and bodies of divinity, and systems of theology, in the world. To make men this, (not to preach doctrines or dispute theologies) is the object of a Church.

But let us remember that there are some who can be contented with the blank state of mind to which allusion has been made. Yes, they can. When the freshness and honesty of a turbulent youth has passed, they can be sometimes satisfied with this. Americanism, as we have seen, gallops through Unitarianism and Deism to Atheism and utter Infidelity. As they dispute their opinions and dogmas by the way, they get further and further from God. He grows dimmer and more distant in their cosmogony; until He appears not to interfere in mundane affairs. After they have discarded His Spirit from civil matters, then they ignore Him altogether, and hold that nothing at all is true; that it matters not what their notions are. This is the natural consequence of transmuting godliness into a system. It is the result of changing it from that which is to influence the manners, the affections, or the heart, into a corpus of theological doctrines which are addressed to the understanding. Rationalism may, therefore, be the event or outcome of either Romanism or Americanism; for both start with dogma.

But what then? Are we to believe no doctrine at all? May we not start with some theology? It seems to me that there are two ways of receiving truth. It may be 'received like a little child;' it may be seen, as it were, by the *lumen siccum*; seen by the pure light and inner eye of reason. Or else

a man may make his understanding the measure of Christianity. 'If a man *does* my will, he shall *know*,' for Christ will teach him; he will not have to argue, but to 'open the door, and Christ will come in and sup with him.' 'The natural man,' on the other hand, 'cannot know the things of God, because they are *spiritually discerned*.' For the understanding can put facts together; it can argue from premises; it is logical; but it is not an eye which sees. If the premises are wrong, the logic becomes worthless. If a man starts from wrong notions, then thinking and arguing will only lead him further astray.. There are *idola* enough in every man's heart to make logic useless to him. The heart, the affections, the passions, must be put right. The understanding can never argue a man out of loves and hates. A man loves what is homogeneous with him. His *ideal* is, therefore, depraved. His *summum bonum* is false. The good thing which one man seeks may be wealth. Prove to him how useless, nay, how injurious, wealth is to him; yet still he will seek wealth. The soft breath of praise seems good to another, and he will not be happy unless lulled in the lap of adulation. To a third person, power or influence is the thing to be aimed at. Now, how can the strongest understanding and most Aristotelian logic, with all its enthymemes and dilemmas, ever set man's affections upon that which is really good? How can doctrines and dogmas ever make a man better? It is impossible even to argue whether wealth or power be a good thing or not, until we have seen clearly

what goodness is; until we know the *summum bonum.* Plato abjures all pretence of teaching this to the understanding. Kant assevers that no arguments can lead you to see the *summum bonum.* Yet until we have done so, logic is worse than useless; for it proceeds from false data. Until we have done so, our doctrine *must* be erroneous. 'The word preached will not profit, unless mixed with faith (that is, the evidence of invisible things, as goodness, truth, &c.) in them that hear.'

The conduct of men, the excellence of citizens, does not, then, depend on their understandings. If doctrines could make them better, we might insure a millennium by Sunday schools. No. The desires have to be set upon that which is really good; passion for evil things has to be put down. The sense of right has to be strengthened. This much might be learned by a study of the Bible. For the Bible does not contain doctrines. If it did rehearse doctrines, then it is a work of supererogation to make out doctrines outside the Bible, and put them into books. Divines pretend to draw their doctrines and theologies from the Bible. If they found them there all ready-made, it would be far more sensible to leave the Bible alone to tell its own story. Surely God's word is better-spoken than theologians' paragraphs. The Bible, however, gives no intellectual conceptions of God or of anything else. It tells us how to act, and gives us examples of conduct both in public and in private life. Even of God, it gives us

nothing but moral conceptions. God is Love; God is a Father; He is merciful, gracious, long-suffering. All this has to do with *conduct*, but not with doctrines or notions. Understanding and argument have nothing to do with godliness; for they breed polemical rancour and party differences. Most of the bitterness and bloodshed in the world have come from theologians and their detestable churches built upon doctrines. The object and aim of a National Church, on the other hand, is not to appeal to men's understandings, but to raise their moral condition; not to give everyone a creed, but to sharpen his sense of right and purify his feelings; not to teach him doctrines, but to awake in him the sense of the personal presence of a God who is ready to help and to guide him. This is the very essence of a statesman's business—to operate upon every man and couch his inner eye. This is the duty of all. It matters not if opinions differ, so long as 'all mind the same things,' and have the same aim, setting their hearts upon the same good thing. This gives us the national form of Church. If we repudiate the National Church, then unity is impossible, unless we accept the Roman form, and acknowledge a visible infallible authority. While, on the other hand, if we start with the denial of an infallible authority in some Pope, then one of two forms we must accept: we must either have as many opinions as men, and sect within sect, an endless maze of multiplying dissents, and a confusion which leads to indifference, coldness,

and disbelief; or else we must consent to disregard differences of opinion, and not appeal to the understandings of men, but look merely to a unity of heart and harmony of practice, to simplicity of affections and identity of aim. Which is the form of a National Church.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE AMERICAN AND ROMAN FORMS.

THE subject of this chapter has necessarily been anticipated to a very great extent. In investigating the character of Americanism, it was impossible to pass over the points of contact with Romanism. There is not much left, therefore, on which I shall have to enlarge.

Romanism was not a deliberate contrivance. It is not the development of a system previously designed and adapted, by accurate foresight and calculation, to compass certain ends. Its origin was the same as that of the American form. It grew from human passions, unchecked by reason. The evil propensities, which are common to every man's heart, seduced them into the beginnings of those errors, which it took thirteen centuries to develope. After those errors had been embraced, logic and understanding were called in to plead in defence of them. There was no *previous* deliberation, nor weighing of *pros* and *cons*. But, long afterwards, ecclesiastics pretended that the subsequently invented arguments had been the causes of the change.

If these errors can be traced to deep motive prin-

ciples or passions in human nature, then it follows that, as soon as one growth of error is lopped off, it appears again—speedily budding out from the same root, and drawing nourishment from the same sap. The evils which we justly complain of as Popish, are lurking, in other forms perhaps, in all men's hearts, and will assuredly appear, if unchecked by reason, in their doctrines and practices. I have already alluded to the preposterous claim of infallible authority, and have shown that it is common to both the Roman and the American forms. The Presbyterian divines of the Westminster Assembly, for example, set themselves up as the sole interpreters of Scripture. They alone (said they), and not that world which is so sunk in wickedness and crime, could possibly 'know the mind of Christ.' Yet this was the very fundamental postulate whereon was built the grand battery of the Romish Church. Of course these grave divines of the Commonwealth used to expect and require everyone to yield to the voice of the Spirit speaking through them. On this ground it was that they were so intolerant to all who opposed them. This was their warrant for the anathemas which they poured out on all who differed in doctrine. The *name* of infallibility they warmly repudiated, the substance they eagerly grasped. Not less did the later Scotch divines also pertinaciously arrogate to themselves. For what else was the meaning of their earnest desire—nay, of their overbearing assertion of their *right*—to judge in all spiritual cases? of their avowed determination to

brook no external interference in their deliberations? of the haughty rebukes which they hurled at the head of any civil judge who presumed to canvass or question their decisions? What else was the meaning of their bitter invectives against the Legislature? of their denunciations against the rulers of the land? of their unmeasured condemnations of the measures of the Executive?

Every church which takes its stand upon doctrine must assume that its doctrines are *necessarily* true. Otherwise, it repudiates the ground upon which it rests. And those also who promulgate doctrines, and angrily resent any doubts which may be raised against them, must lay claim to infallibility; lest the authority of their announcements might be questioned. A National Church, on the other hand, no more requires a blind acquiescence from her members, than a schoolmaster exacts it from pupils who learn Euclid or algebra. It is the nation which 'has power to ordain rites.' Who would be hasty in differing from the deliberate voice of a nation—a voice, too, which has not varied in tone for centuries? It is the nation which has 'authority in controversies.' The nation employs education as an engine for bettering its succeeding generations. It must, therefore (like every parent), determine what shall be taught; otherwise the trumpet would give but an uncertain sound. How different is such a church from those whose professed aim is to spread dogmas! whose prime intention is not to make citizens better men! How different is the Church

of England from that church which Sir George Bowyer described on June 9, 1863! Yet I do not blame the Romanists alone, nor 'thank God that we are so much better than other men are.' What was the Gorham controversy but a desire to make the Church stand upon doctrine? The desire was foiled; the *Privy Council*, and not a synod, decided it. And, in arriving at the judgment, the Privy Council considered merely what it was that the nation had determined to have taught; they never took thought whether this or that dogma is orthodox. What is the controversy about the 'Essays and Reviews,' but a desire, upon the part of the many, to see the Church based upon doctrine? They forget that its prime aim is the moral character of the people. They ignore the fact that *Laborare est orare*; that religion is merely duty. Whether our duty lies in 'visiting the fatherless and widows in their affliction' —or whether it lies in occupations of a more secular appearance—still religion consists in 'doing our duty in that station of life to which God has called us.'

Akin to this claim of an infallible authority is the assumption by the clergy of an inspired character. Thus, the Romanists assert that the fathers and doctors of their Church are inspired, and therefore that whatever they teach must be the truth. And, similarly, the Nonconformists of the time of the Commonwealth forbade the use of a fixed Liturgy, and of written sermons, so as '*not to confine the utterances of the Spirit.*' Some of the Scotch (perhaps most of them) use that very expression, with

the same object, to this very day. This assumption has the same source, both in Papists and Sectaries. It is a corollary from the separation which they pretend there must be between the clergy and the laity. It follows from the supposed distinction between Church and State, between religious and secular affairs. Here, again, the error is not confined to the members of those two churches. Others, unfortunately, share it. The numerous devotions which are looked for in the clergy, but would be regarded as pharisaical and 'methodistical' in laics —the variety of religious exercises which are exacted of the clergy—the more staid and morose style of conduct which is thought proper for them—the various amusements and active employments which are said to be unbecoming for those in holy orders, but yet are freely permitted and regarded as highly honourable in the laity—all these distinctions proclaim a prevalent belief in the false notion that clergy are essentially different from other men. Other men may be as gay and worldly as they like—as eager in pursuit of amusement and frivolities—as 'sharp and knowing' in the acquisition of gain. While we affirm for the clergy a peculiar holiness; we assume a vicarious sanctity in an ordained priesthood. This is very like the demand of the foolish: 'Give us of your oil, for our lamps have gone out.' It is but a step from serving God by deputy, and setting up the clergy as mediators between God and man—instead of regarding them merely as officers of the National Church—as agents

employed by the State for raising and improving its citizens. It is the old error of regarding the Church as the clergy, instead of holding the Church to be the whole nation—to be a cooperation or association of clergy and laity. It is the old error of looking upon the clergy as keepers of mysteries, and dispensers of dogma; instead of asserting that the Church does not stand upon dogma, but has only a moral object. The subsequent steps are always easy. If the Church means the clergy, then of course the Church is *distinct* from the nation, by reason of clerical ordination; and *above* the nation, in virtue of its Divine appointment. This is ultramontanism; and this is concurred in by the Sectaries too. While the National Church rests in the middle, between them.

The same error appears again in the notions concerning ceremonies. When religion is dissociated from daily life, the former is nicknamed 'spiritual,' and the latter 'secular.' Then the next step is to separate religious observances from godliness of life. There has always been a cry against the Romanists for resting on ceremonies and mummeries, on masses and saints' days, on penances and fasts. Have not then the Sectaries their observances too? their pharisaical keeping of a judaical Sabbath, with their 'tricks of trade' on week-days? their 'saints' and 'elect,' and adoration of anyone who uses their wretched shibboleths of doctrine? Yes! I have known them anxious to quash a lawsuit (which had been instituted for a most nefarious swindle) because the swindler was 'such a saint!' Have

they not their fasts and their days of humiliation? When Glasgow wished a fast-day to be proclaimed for the cholera, Lord Palmerston told them to cleanse their ways, both moral and physical; for it was well known that this Sabbath-keeping, long-sermoned, bedoctrinised city, is the worst 'city of the plain' which has not been engulphed in the Dead Sea. I have asked them, during their solemn days of humiliation, if they thought they were as proud the day after as before? And they told me that 'the humiliation was not expected to make them more humble; they did it merely as a religious duty.' Here, again, Popery and Sectarianism have the same source, while the National Church keeps the middle.

The Romanists have their almsgivings and good works. Does not Sectarianism have its voluntary system and offerings? These are looked upon as a gift to God, which will procure, in return, a certain quantum of heaven in the next life. To this amounts the Sectarian's doctrine of good works. The following words on the voluntary system are well worthy of consideration:—

'If we wish to see what is now vauntingly termed *the voluntary principle fully evolved and ripened under a summer heat, we have only to turn to the Papacy*. . . . What has happened once may happen again, and will do so under like circumstances. . . . The clerical body, including, as it may, many high-minded and disinterested individuals, is yet, as a body (what body is not?), actuated by the ordinary motives of our nature, and tends, therefore, with

a steady and silent momentum, towards its corporate aggrandisement—its wealth, its ease, its credit, and its secure enjoyment of special prerogatives. Every corporation shifts itself, if it be possible, from precarious ground, and moves towards that which is firm. If, then, the State does not lend its aid in this endeavour of the clergy to substantiate their honours and revenues, a resource will be found of another sort, and the minds of the people will be worked upon with proportionate eagerness, in order to make sure of their subserviency. . . . The claims of God's ministers will be asserted in a hyperbolic, yet insidious style. *The merit of the offering laid upon the altar of the Church will be overrated in a manner that at once enfeebles morality and corrupts doctrine. Genuine virtue will be made to give way to fictitious virtue.* . . . The voluntary principle is in its full triumphant course. Nevertheless, a system of spiritual despotism, as cruel as it is foul, is fastening on the necks of the people.'* The National Church used to provide for the poor, but it did so without the intervention of a voluntary system. There was an organisation consisting of parishes where a rate was levied as a tax, and not as a good work. Thus the evil of good works has been practically evaded.

From these few instances we may see how the Roman form and the way of the Sectaries, although they be two opposite errors, nevertheless spring from the very same root, while the National Church ever abides in the middle between them.

* Taylor's *Spiritual Despotism*, p. 54.

The close connection of these two forms has, moreover, been fully proved by history. I will here mention a few examples, in addition to those which have been noticed in the preceding chapters.

The Earl of Leicester used to encourage the Puritans. His object was to weaken the National Church, in order to restore Romanism. For he had conspired with the Spanish ambassador, and had contracted, on his part, to bring this country again under the tyranny of Romanism, if the Spanish ambassador, on his part, would promote a marriage between Leicester and the Queen.* Leicester knew that by favouring the Sectaries he was favouring Popery.

Again, we read in Stillingfleet's book 'On Separation' (and he was not a man likely to err) the following astounding statement. I give it in his own words :—

We must consider that when the Church of England was restored in Queen Elizabeth's reign, there was no open separation from the communion of it for several years, neither by Papists nor Nonconformists. At last, the more zealous party of the *foreign priests and Jesuits finding this compliance would in the end utterly destroy the popish interest* in England, they began to draw off the secret Papists *from all conformity* with our Church, which the old Queen Mary's priests allowed them in ; this raised some heat among themselves, but at last the way of separation prevailed, as the more *pure* and *perfect way*. But this was not thought sufficient by these busy factors for the Church of Rome, unless they

* Southey, *Book of the Church*, p. 347.

could, under the same pretence of purity and perfection, draw off Protestants from the communion of this Church too. *To this purpose persons were employed, under the disguise of more zealous Protestants*, to set up the way of *more spiritual prayer*, and *greater purity of worship than was observed in the Church of England*, that so the people, under these pretences, might be drawn into separate meetings. Of this we have a considerable evidence lately offered to the world, in the examination of a priest so employed at the council table, A. D. 1567, being the 9th of Queen Elizabeth, which is published from the Lord Burleigh's papers, which were in the hands of Archbishop Usher, and from him came to Sir James Ware, whose son brought them into England, and lately caused them to be printed. Two years after, one Heath, a Jesuit, was summoned before the Bishop of Rochester on a like account, for disparaging the prayers of the Church, and setting up *spiritual prayers* above them; and he declared to the bishop, *that he had been six years in England, and that he had laboured to refine the Protestants and to take off all smacks of ceremonies, and to make the Church purer.* When he was seized on, a letter was found about him from a Jesuit in Spain, wherein he takes notice how he was admired by his flock, and tells him they looked on this way of dividing Protestants as the most effectual to bring them all back to the Church of Rome; and in his chamber they found a bull from Pius V. to follow the instructions of the Society for dividing the Protestants in England, and the license from his fraternity.

There is one thing in the Jesuit's letter deserves our further consideration, which the publisher of it did not understand: which is, that Hallingham, Coleman, and Benson are there mentioned as persons employed to sow a faction among the German heretics, which he takes to be spoken of the sects in Germany; but by the German heretics the English Protestants are meant, i.e. Lutherans; and these very men are mentioned by our historians, without knowing of this letter, as the most active and busy in the beginning of the separation. "Of these," saith Fuller, "Coleman, Button, Hallingham, and Benson were the chief." "At which time," saith Heylin, "Benson, Button, Hallingham, and Coleman, and others, taking upon them to be of more ardent zeal than others, &c." That time is 1568, which agrees exactly with the date of that letter at Madrid, October 26, 1568. And both these had it from a much better author than either of them, Camden I mean, who saith, that "while Harding, Sanders, and others attacked our Church on one side, Coleman, Button, Hallingham, Benson, and others were as busy on the other; who, under pretence *of a purer Reformation*, opposed the discipline *Liturgy* and *calling of our bishops, as approaching too near the Church of Rome.*" And he makes these the beginners of those quarrels which afterwards broke out with great violence. Now, that there is no improbability in the thing, will appear by the suitableness of these pretences about *spiritual prayer*, to the doctrines and practices of the Jesuits. For they are professed

despisers of the cathedral service, and are excused from their attendance on it, by the constitution of their order; and are as great admirers of spiritual prayer, and an enthusiastic way of preaching, as appears by the history of the first institution of their order, by Orlandinus and Maffeius.'*

The first opponents of the Queen's supremacy were those who looked on the Pope as the head of the Church. The Puritans soon joined the Romanists in that opposition. It was Cartwright who led the way; and the rest blindly followed him. His axiom was that 'the sole direction of Church affairs is committed by God's ordinance to the ministers of the Church; and that, as they do not meddle with civil laws, so neither should civil governors trench upon ecclesiastical matters.' In this the Papists and the Puritans entirely agreed. Cartwright's words are remarkable:† 'It must be remembered that civil magistrates . . . as they are nurses, so they be servants unto the Church; and, as they rule in the Church, so they must remember to submit themselves unto the Church, to submit their sceptres, *to throw down their crowns before the Church*; yea, as the prophet speaketh, *to lick the dust off the feet of the Church*.' This seems to be a choice sentence culled from some writings of the most ambitious Pope of Rome! Archbishop Whitgift testifies to the fact that Cartwright and the Puritans were but tools of Rome.‡

* *Stillingfleet, On Separation*, p. xi.
† Hallam's *Const. Hist.* i. 187.
‡ *Defence of the Answer to the Admonition.*

'They are made the engines of the Roman Conclave, whereby they intend to overthrow this Church by our own folly, which they cannot compass by all their policy.' Milton took up the mantle which Cartwright had let fall. For he says:* 'It is highly derogatory to the power of the Church, as well as an utter want of faith, to suppose that her government cannot be properly administered without the intervention of the civil magistrate.'

The Papists and Sectaries, therefore, perfectly agreed. Each party desired to settle Church affairs independently of the nation, each desired to separate Church and State. An old divine said truly that the Sectaries and Papists are like Samson's foxes, which appear to pull different ways, but carry a firebrand between their tails, to destroy the harvest of our National Church. The Sectaries deny to the nation the right to appoint or remove a pastor; the Roman Church does the same. The Sectaries even prefer an arrogant claim for the power of appointing and removing their own ministers, in contravention and defiance of the law of the land. Thus Atkinson† wrote, in allusion to the clergy who had been ejected by authority of Parliament: 'The people judge it their duty to abide in that (same) relation to their ejected pastors.'

Was not this the very ground of conflict, for seven hundred years and more, between our National Church and the Roman form? They both concur in their refusal to regard the queen as head of the

* *Treatise on Christian Doctrine.*

† Preface to the *Mischief of Imposition.*

Church. They both agree in denying that the Church and the nation are coextensive. They both assign to the Church and the State (or nation) utterly distinct and independent spheres. As soon as the Sectarian clergy had obtained authority, at the time of the commonwealth, they '*assumed to themselves* (wrote Southey) *the most dangerous power of the Roman priesthood*, and laid upon the consciences of their fellow-subjects, a yoke tenfold heavier than that of which they had complained as intolerable. *The Pope's claim to the keys of St. Peter was not more dangerous to the civil authority than their pretension to the sceptre of Christ.* They maintained a *divine right* in Presbytery; and voted it in the Assembly of Divines.'* Southey furthermore asserts that the very arguments which they used, in favour of the people's claim to wield the governing power, had been borrowed from a book of the Jesuit Father Parsons, and were unblushingly reproduced, in Father Parsons' very words, to bolster up and further the Sectarians' cause. In the Assembly they moreover voted a solemn resolution to the effect that the '*power of the keys*' is vested in the Church, that is, in the clergy; '*whereby they could retain or remit sins; shut the kingdom of heaven and open it;* and this, *with the power of excommunication*, they voted to be theirs *by divine right.*'† The Parliament assented to their claim in the abstract, yet frustrated it in effect. For they provided an appeal from the Church to the Parliament, and reserved to the

* *Book of the Church*, p. 398. † *Ibid.* p. 427.

justices of the land alone, the trial of all capital offences. The Assembly of Divines resisted this moderate retention of a legal power, on the ground that it was an infraction of 'Divine right.' Their excitement was, however, quelled for the time by fear and alarm. They learned that a committee of the House of Commons had reported that the Assembly of Divines came directly under the ban of an Act which had been passed in former days, in order to restrain the growing power and ultramontane intrigues of the Roman Church; namely, the STATUTE OF PRÆMUNIRE.

Nor was it in their outward acts alone that they unwittingly aped the Roman Church. Such acts might perhaps be set down to lusts and passions strongly burning in the sacred breasts of these divines of the Assembly. But the matured thoughts of those divines, deliberately published in their carefully devised books and pamphlets, revealed a like settled intention on their part. Thus Baxter* says that 'he looks on none as true churches, but *such as have the power of the keys within themselves, and have a bishop or pastor over them with that power*;' and any 'parochial church' that has such, and owns itself to be independent, he allows to be a true church.† Again, in the 'Christian Directory'‡ Baxter openly and unreservedly owns his preference for the Roman form, and for a universal bishop or

* *Sacrilegious Desertion*, p. 34. The *True Way of Concord*, chap. x.

† See *Stillingfleet's Separation*, p. 120.

‡ Eccl. Cases, Q. 56, p. 830.

pope also. His words are: 'There is *one Catholic visible Church*; and all particular churches, which are headed by their particular bishops or pastors, are parts of this Universal Church, as a troop is of an army, or a city of a kingdom.' A troop has its own captain, but that captain is entirely at the disposal of the general of the whole army. The city has its mayor, but he may not do more than administer the laws of the king in whose kingdom it is placed. Baxter therefore held that the bishop of each particular church is entirely under the orders of some universal bishop; that he is at the disposal of the pope. He leaves us in no doubt on this point; for he continues to affirm that 'every church must have a constitutive regent part, as essential to it.' The 'one Catholic visible Church' has therefore a constitutive regent part, as essential to it; which is no less than the pope himself.

In fact, the approaches which were made towards the Roman form by the Sectaries were vastly more rapid than the progress of the Roman Church itself had been, in earlier times, towards the same point, and withal by the same road. The advance of the Sectaries was a bold and rapid imitation. The first steps of the Roman Church had been small and tentative. It was, in this case, the imperceptible growth from a deep root of evil; the gradual development of a false principle. That root, that false principle, was separation between the Church and the nation. If this separation be conceded, and if a Church acquires either the authority or the power to

define the limits of ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction, then an *imperium in imperio* has been established which, in time, will make all other powers bend before it. This follows as a necessary consequence from the constitution of human minds, and the passions which impel them to action. The claim of 'Divine right' is merely an argument which was subsequently invented and put forward by the clergy, to substantiate and defend what they had already begun to acquire. The next move on the part of the Church always is to enlarge its definition of the ecclesiastical sphere; it extends this over the secular sphere, and encroaches on the civil power. This is what the Roman Church did. This is what the Sectarian divines of the Assembly did. This is what the Puritans before them had done. This is what has recently been done in Scotland. This is what a National Church cannot do, as long as it retains its national form. Truly did Calderwood write:—

'I am not ignorant that Satan of old time, for maintenance of his darkness, hath obtained of the blind world two chief points: former, he hath persuaded princes, rulers, and magistrates, that the feeding of Christ's flock pertaineth nothing to their charge, but that it is rejected upon the bishops and state ecclesiastical; and secondly, that the reformation of religion, be it never so corrupt, and the punishment of such as be sworn soldiers in their kingdom, are exempted from all civil power, and are reserved to themselves and their own cognition. But that the ordering and reformation of religion,

with instruction of subjects, doth especially appertain to the civil magistrate.' *

If the clergy were truly different from the world, if their ordination really had rooted out of their hearts all selfishness, all ambition, all desire for the aggrandisement of their order, in short, 'every root of bitterness,' then truly the case would be different. But, as it is not so, it is not safe nor wise to let slip from state-control so large, so influential, so powerful a body as the clergy must be, or must speedily become. Their passions and selfish desires must impel them to increase their ecclesiastical power, to augment their wealth, to magnify their pretensions and exaggerate their rights, to the utter ruin and enslaving of the nation. Any nation which tolerates the existence within itself of such arbitrary powers and uncontrolled privileges is a slave already, and deserves to groan in chains until it remembers its liberty. And then, if woful experience restores its manhood, it will arise to shake off the Church altogether, in its blind anger, and will fly for refuge to godlessness and infidelity. Far wiser is the nation which maintains a *National* Church, with its powers and duties well defined, and all clerical ambition effectually curbed, and its ministrations to the poor regularly performed. Hallam wrote: † 'It ought always to be remembered, that ecclesiastical, and not merely Papal encroachments, are what civil governments, and the laity in general, have had

* Calderwood, i. 365.

† *Hist. of the Middle Ages.*

to resist. . . The true enemy is what are called High-Church principles, be they maintained by a 'pope, a bishop, or a presbyter.' He might have added, that the popery of the Sectaries is by far the worst of all, although watched and guarded against by far the least. Professor Gibson * writes: 'If the lessons of history are of any weight, statesmen would do right to understand this subject well, and to guard against dangerous innovations, because they *seem* to promise a ready and speedy release from immediate difficulties. Let it be remembered that *it was by arrogating a total independence of the State that the Papal power consummated its domination.*'

The Roman form and the way of the Sectaries sprang therefore from the same root, and agree wonderfully in their subsequent growth. They are continually playing into each other's hands, and feeding each other's forces, in their contest with the national form. The oppression of ecclesiastical power, the dull thoughtless uniformity of Popedom, makes men seek the open air of the Sectaries, with their freedom of opinion, and their licentious rioting of worships; while, on the other hand, the evil which results from a multiplicity of sects makes men yearn for unity, and leads them to ascribe infallible authority, first to a Synod of the Church, and then to a pope at the head of the Church. When an endless variety of opinions first grew up—silently and secretly, of course—then, in order to prevent open war and loud wranglings to the scandal of

* *Essay on the Voluntary Principle*, p. 79.

religion; in order to obviate schism, and hinder the formation of sects, and cement again the separations which had begun, this experiment of a universal bishop or pope was hit upon. They were aware of the need; they felt the sore. They were not astray in their diagnosis. A sick man can tell his pain. The remedy, however, which they applied was wrong. It did not attack the root of the disease; it merely changed its direction. For the remedy ignored the individuality and reality of nations; and sought for *unity of opinion* in a general legislation for Christendom. If differences of opinion do exist, what of that? Notions alone do not hurt any but the possessors of them. Differences of opinion are not differences of principle. Therefore differences of opinion are no cause of division. The Sectaries and the Roman Church agree in principle; and on principle they differ from us. They object to the national form of Church. They say that the State (i.e. the nation) has nothing to do with religion, but should merely protect persons and property. So far the Sectaries and Papists go hand in hand. They agree also in taking their stand upon opinion. But then they begin to diverge. The latter accept a faith at the hands of a man; the former assert that each man may choose for himself any religion that he fancies.

I return now to those historical events which illustrate the close alliance of Romanism with the way of the Sectaries.

Prynne informs us that 'the objection that the subjects of Christ's kingdom are spiritual, and there-

fore beyond the force and cognisance of secular powers,' was the very argument that had been formerly used by the Popish clergy in order to put themselves beyond the reach of the law of the land. It was the argument on which they grounded the treatise 'De immunitate et exemptione Clericorum.' This was the very source whence the Sectaries seem to have drawn their inspiration. They had been beguiled into separation; and were then dressed out for their defence in the old cast-off uniforms, and armed with the worn-out weapons of Papal combatants. They had not the wisdom of David; or else they would have put them off, because they had not proved them. Therefore, while they, on the one hand, became the agents of Rome in accustoming Protestant ears to the clink of these Romish arguments; and in wheedling Protestant minds into regarding them with favour, and granting premises from which the whole Roman form could afterwards be deduced;—so, on the other hand, they accomplished the work of Rome in a more absolute manner, by separating themselves from the National Church, by creating divisions and planting schisms throughout the land. Thus Prynne, in his 'Seasonable, Legal, and Historical Vindication,' says that Courtney the Jesuit had openly asserted in 1641 to many persons, that 'now at last, after all their former plots had miscarried, they had found out a sure way to subvert and ruin the Church of England (*which was the most formidable to them of all others*) by the Independents.' In support of this statement Prynne also adduces the testimony given by

M. Militiere, a French Jesuit, in his 'Victory of Truth, 1654.' He subsequently quotes these words from J. P. Windeck's '*De extirpandis Hæresiis*,' viz.: 'And that the Catholics may more easily oppress and destroy these heretics, *they are to be severed from, and divided against each other*, by sundry various arts and means, and all occasions laid hold on for this purpose.' The Jesuit Contzens* (quoted by Stillingfleet) also gives directions for the best way of introducing Popery into the country. Among other means, he advocates these: '*A pretence of ease to tender consciences*;' 'to *make use of the divisions* of the enemies of Popery,' &c. The following advice, from a similar quarter, is also quoted by Stillingfleet: 'To make the *obstruction of settlement* their great design, *especially upon the fundamental constitution of the kingdom*; whereunto if things should fall, *they would be more firm than ever*.' That is to say, the fundamental constitution of the kingdom, or the National Church, was the greatest hindrance to Popery. The agents of Rome were, therefore, to take this ground for the obstruction which they were to offer to the settlement of the Church. They were in fact to object to the union, or rather identity, of the Church and State; because, if the national form were again established, the cause of Rome would be hopeless. Stillingfleet adds: 'The great thing they aimed at for many years was, the breaking in pieces of the constitution of this Church by a *general toleration*.'

* *Politica*, lib. ii. c. 18.

From the foregoing evidence it appears, that the method of the Jesuits was to urge the claims and rights of *conscience*; thereby causing separations and increasing the number of sects. The mutual animosities of these sects, and their common hatred to the National Church, might then be easily fanned by agents of Rome, which had been already planted in each camp. Thus both the attack on one side, and the defence on the other, being planned by these secret members of one society, it was easy to play off sects and parties against each other, to their common ruin, and the advantage of Rome. While the great object, which had to be kept always in view, was to prevent any recurrence to the ancient constitution of the Church, on the fundamental law of the kingdom, namely, the National Church; 'whereunto if things should fall, they would be more firm than ever.'

Again; W. Watson, in his 'Quodlibets,' * quoted by Prynne in his 'Seasonable Vindication,' says:—

'I verily think that all the *Puritans will join wholly with the Jesuits at length* (how far off soever they seem to be, and are yet, in external profession of religion), *there being at least half an hundred principles and odd tricks concerning government, authority, tyranny, &c., which they jump as just together in, as if both were made of one mould.* . . . It is worthy observation that Thomas Campanella † *prescribed the sowing and continual nourishing of divisions, dissensions, discords, sects, and schisms among us, both in State and Church* (by the Machiavelian plots

* A.D. 1602. † *De Monarchia Hispanica*, c. xxv. p. 204.

and policies he suggests, punctually prosecuted among us of late years), *as the principal means to weaken, ruin both our nation and religion*, and bring us under the Spanish and Popish yokes at last: witness his 'jamvero ad enervandos Anglos nihil tam conducit quàm dissensio et discordia inter illos excitata, perpetuòque nutrita, quod citò meliores occasiones suppeditabit,' and that principally by instigating the nobles and chief men of the Parliament of England: 'ut Angliam in formam reipublicæ reducant, ad imitationem Hollandorum.'

Let us now hear the evidence of a chief man on the opposite side. Archbishop Grindal * felt the greatest alarm at two dangers which he saw impending; namely, Atheism and Popery. I have already shown, that rationalism, atheism, infidelity, are the results of Americanism, or the way of the Sectaries. I am, in this chapter, proving that the way of the Sectaries leads also to Romanism. Archbishop Grindal states that he perceived both of these dangers to arise 'out of our needless differences;' which, he avers, had '*been fomented by the Pope, who also prevented the settling of religion by law.*' Hence, while the Protestant religion was disjointed, loose, confused, and warring, the Roman Church had all the force of law and government, and the appearance of harmony, unity, and peace. This, of course, was a powerful argument to use, and was often found to prevail with wavering-minded Protestants. This is the testimony of Archbishop

* *Fair Warning*, pt. ii. 1663.

Grindal. Baxter corroborates this evidence in his '*Defence of the Cure of Divisions*:' 'I am persuaded that all the arguments used in Bellarmin, and all other books that ever were written, have *not-done so much to make Papists in England, as the multitude of sects* among ourselves.' And again: 'Popery will get by it so great advantage as may hazard us all, and we may lose that which the several parties do contend about.' And 'our division gratifieth the Papists, and *greatly hazardeth the Protestant religion*; and that more than most of you seem to believe, or to regard.' Ay! and much more than anyone in these days seems to believe, or regard, or care. And yet these incredulous persons cannot give a good reason, nor any reason at all, for refusing to believe all this concurrent testimony, by those most excellent and worthy men, on all sides, which all parties still boast of. Still less can they show any good ground for not regarding, nor caring, nor investigating whether that evidence be true or false. I have not, however, finished calling my witnesses. Nor should I finish until doomsday, if all who are ready to give similar evidence were to be produced.

Dr. Stillingfleet mentions, on the testimony of Philip Nye himself, that the Jesuits had been busy among them (the Sectaries), working to set them against the Church of England. Edwards, in his 'Gangræna,' devotes many pages to the proof of this very position. He begins his evidence by stating that the Sectaries were, all along, doing the very

thing which Contzens and Campanella (the Jesuits) had counselled. These are his words :—

'The *Sectaries and the Jesuits agree* in many things. . . . . *Our Sectaries have*, by their policies and ways, *hindered the settling of Church government all this while ; and they plead the long delay of settling it as a ground to justify their gathering Churches* ; saying, How many years would you have us stay ? when, as in the assembly, city, in all places, by all means where they have any interest, they retard the work. . . . . *They have laboured, and do, by all ways, to have no Church government at all settled in this kingdom* ; but keep it out. Or, secondly, if there must be any, yet to have a defective, imperfect, loose government and reformation, that may not be able to do the work, that so others may fall off to their way the more. . . . . They have been, and are poly-pragmatical, indefatigably active, stirring, restless night and day, in city, country, in all places having their agents to do their work, and promote their cause : their eyes are intent upon everything that may make for them or against them ; and they have a hand in everything ; they are men of a hundred eyes and hands, out-acting and out-working all the Presbyterians ; they deal with this man to take him off, and work with another to qualify him ; they have got most of the weekly writers of news to plead their cause, commend their persons, cry up their actions ; they have sent emissaries to several countries, to preach, carry letters, deal with persons for choosing of burgesses in Parliament for their way ;

they observe all men's tempers, humours, and accordingly deal with them all, some with offices and places, some by holding out principles suiting their lusts. . . . Whereas many of the great Sectaries themselves, and principal ringleaders in each sect (as Anabaptists, Antinomians, Independents, &c.), were not only Conformists in the way of old conformity, but great innovators and forward Episcopal men; *the innovation of altars, bowing at the name of Jesus, reading* the book of Sports, *causing the people to come and kneel at the Rail, &c., being practised by them.*'

Bishop Sanderson (who is quoted by Stillingfleet in his 'Unreasonableness of Separation') enumerates three ways in which the Sectaries were abetting and promoting the Roman interest among us. He is careful, however, to state that this was very far from the intention of the Sectaries. They were being used as the ignorant and unwilling instruments of others. But that same self-conceit and pride which made them so steady in their own opinions, and so repellent of the calm judgment of great and good men, made them also proudly spurn the suggestion that they were merely the tools of others. Their haughtiness and self-will made them content to remain in ignorance of the secret springs which impelled, and the secret influences which were persistently brought to bear upon them.*

* Let the reader consider himself in the place of those I describe. The greater he is in the political world and in the torrent of factions, the more likely are the ablest fishermen to cast over him their most attractive flies, carefully selected according to the times and seasons, and adapted to the peculiar tastes of the fish.

And now for the calm and deliberate judgment of one of the most clear-minded and logical men that ever handled pen; I mean Dr. Stillingfleet. In the Preface to his book on the 'Unreasonableness of Separation,' he unfolds the reasons which had obliged him to undertake it:—

'The only motive I had to undertake this book was, my just apprehension that the *destruction of the Church of England, under a pretence of zeal against Popery*, was one of the most likely ways to bring it in. And I have hitherto seen no cause (and I believe I shall not) to alter my opinion in this matter; which was *not rashly taken up, but formed in my mind from many years' observation of the proceedings of that restless party* (I mean the Papists) among us; *which hath always aimed at the ruin of this Church as one of the most probable means, if others failed, to compass their ends.*'*

After reviewing all the arguments which he had adduced, and the facts which he had mentioned, he thus draws his conclusion: 'But, from the whole, it appears that the grand design of the Papists, for many years, was *to break in pieces the Constitution of the Church of England*; which being done, they flattered themselves with the hopes of great accessions to their strength and party; and, in order to this, *they inflamed the differences among us* to the utmost height.'

With regard to the busy time of the Commonwealth, this may suffice; although the evidence might

* Stillingfleet, *On Separation*, p. ii.

be multiplied to almost any extent. The prejudices which are current in these days do not incline men to doubt that the same operations were carried on during the two succeeding reigns. I need, therefore, not dwell much upon them. I pass to the evidence of one who, from his coldness and indifference to religion, his consequent impartiality between contending sects, his position in the State, and his knowledge of the Constitution, has usually escaped the suspicion of harbouring any wild or visionary notions on the subject, or of overestimating the value and importance of it. Bolingbroke wrote :—

'The influence I mean is that of Popery. It prevailed from the first moments to the last of the reign of King Charles II. The best ministers were frequently driven off their bias by it. On the occasion now mentioned, this influence, and the artifice of the Popish faction, worked very fatally on the passions of parties and the private interests of individuals. . . *Protestant Dissenters were therefore to serve as stalking horses*, that Papists might creep behind them, and have hopes of being, some time or other, admitted with them. *The Church party was hallooed on the Dissenters*; *whilst the Dissenters were encouraged to unite and hold out*; whilst they were flattered with an high opinion of their own strength, and the King's favour; and whilst some leading men amongst them, who thought it better to be at the head of a sect, than at the tail of an Establishment, were perhaps encouraged and confirmed in that thought by the private applications of the Court.

'These arts, these wicked arts (for such they were), prevailed; and though the 2,000 ministers who went out of their churches on one day were far from being all of the same mind, or having one positive, consistent scheme, . . . yet, by uniting in the point of Nonconformity, they appeared as one body, and in some sense they were so.' *

It is well known that James II. carried on the scheme of 'making the Dissenters instrumental to the reestablishment of Popery.'† And that, too, by the very means which had been suggested in those books of Machiavelian counsel, to which we have already alluded; namely, by the cry of 'Conscience' and 'Toleration.' Stillingfleet, Southey, and others, assert that 'the Declaration of Indulgence of 1672 was of the Papists' procuring.' With a similar intention, James II. issued an Order in Council, requiring the clergy to read, from their pulpits, the 'Declaration for Liberty of Conscience.'

Archbishop Sancroft, Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and Sherlock, and many others, stood firm, and were successful in staving off, for a time, the evil day, and defeating the well-contrived plot for uniting the Papists and the Sectaries for the overthrow of the National Church. This is corroborated by a Jesuit pamphlet of the time, entitled 'Moyen unique pour abolir le Test et les loix pénales d'Angleterre.' From this it appears that, when James had decided to abolish the penal laws, in order to relieve the Roman Catholics, he sent down into each county, previous

* Bolingbroke, *On Parties*, p. 21. † Southey.

to a general election, certain trusty agents of his, to confer secretly with the leading men of the county, and draw from them an engagement that they would support only those candidates who would fall in with the King's papistical scheme. The leading gentry, however, could not be induced to give, on the sudden, any definite reply to the royal demand. They feared that some greater scheme than any which had been revealed, might really be on foot. The candidates, also, in those days, were gentlemen and men of honour. Few of them could, therefore, be induced to comply in any intrigue. The Nonconformists, moreover, were not fools enough to believe that the penal laws were to be broken merely out of love to them. The conclusion which the Nonconformists came to was, that Polyphemus intended, at best, to do them the favour of devouring them last.

Besides these electioneering agents—the Tadpoles and Tapers of that day—the King also paid writers, both in the metropolis and in the country, who incessantly poured forth pamphlets and articles on the subject. He hoped, by this means, to create a general opinion, among the unthinking multitudes, in favour of his scheme of abolition. Talkers, also, were sent about the town, to put convenient words into men's mouths. They called the penal laws 'sanguinary,' 'unjust,' 'contrary to the whole spirit of Christianity.' Beaux and club-hangers, of course, took up the strain, and, by unmeaning repetition, thoughtlessly spread these notions far and wide.

These writers and talkers, of course, refrained from mentioning the one thing which was the soul of the whole plot—the Roman Catholics, to wit—or if they did, it was in a light and slighting manner. They alluded only to the Sectaries, whom they spoke of as 'poor oppressed brethren.' And then the babblers spoke of the 'brethren,' and never thought of the Papists.

From all this powerful plot of mischief, what obstacle had power enough to save us? I give the testimony of the Jesuit writer in his own words: '*The extraordinary merit of the English Church, and its great weight in the country.* . . . That Church, sustained not only by the fundamental laws of the State, but also by its own inherent forces, by the amount of its learning, by its great array of acute divines, and by its credit with all men of influence!' This was the powerful battery which opposed the King's progress. 'Besides (continues the Jesuit writer), the most enlightened Dissenters contemplate returning some day to the Church, as they have no cause of separation but some utterly indifferent ceremonies.'

The Church had therefore to be gained over. At all costs she had to be gained. In order to implicate the officers of the Church, 'Father Peters' devised the plan which James followed and failed in. The plan was this: as the bishops were always loyal, the King was to take advantage of their disposition, and command them to read the 'Declaration of Indulgence' in their churches. The refusal of the bishops

is given at length in the little book from which I have taken this account. They declared that 'the King alone had no right to change the laws of the land; nor, by declaration under the sign-manual, to repeal penal laws which had been made by Act of Parliament; and that they would never become accomplices to such an illegal act.' *

On this the Jesuit writer remarks that Father Peters had given the King bad counsel; because that nothing should ever be risked; nothing in any great enterprise should ever be hazarded or left to chance. The King ought first to have sounded the bishops. He should not have proceeded so rashly. Everything depends upon mind, or rather upon method (says he), not upon this thing or on that thing disjunct from the method. In this instance the bishops were left out of the method. It had not been part of the method to make them safe. The scheme, therefore, in travelling out of the method to the bishops, of course miscarried.

Hereupon everybody was in consternation. They felt, in a vague way, that some great indescribable plot was on foot. The babblers now babbled the other way. Public opinion turned like a tide, and ran hard in the other direction. All was lost. The most enlightened of the Sectaries now openly protested (says the Jesuit writer) that this 'Indulgence' and 'Liberty of Conscience' was a mere snare; and that they were far safer with the Church of England than they would ever be with Ultramontanism.

* *Moyen unique pour abolir, &c.*

The whole contest was, of course, *apparently* fought upon a different ground, viz. whether the King had a dispensing power or not. The leading men on both sides, however, were aware that this was not the *real* issue. It was merely the issue which was placed before the public. BEHIND THE SCENES, IT WAS A CONFLICT OF CHURCHES.

It would be a serious omission if I were to close this account without explaining the Jesuit writer's own scheme, which he then proposed for attaining the same end. He recommended that, now that the King had failed, they should begin patiently and cautiously to persuade the English that *Roman Catholics are not bound in conscience to enforce their doctrines*; that they do not regard all who repudiate the Catholic doctrine as heretics, who must be repressed by the strong arm of power. We must (says he) remove from the minds of these English, the notion that we would persecute if we had the power. We must also put into their minds the notion that the enlightened among us do not really look to a visible and infallible judge in the Church. We must speak light of our doctrine of Transubstantiation, &c. We must also not maintain that the Roman Church is a universal church (i. e. ultramontane), and that all other churches are heretical We must inveigh against the Inquisition. In short, we must do everything to remove the prejudices of the English against the Roman Catholics. He concludes by adjuring his comrades to learn for the future, from the errors of the past. We also may remember that the experi-

ence of the past is the best guide for the future. Let us bear in mind that the National Church has ever been a bulwark against invasion from either side. The Roman form and the way of the Sectaries have both sprung from the same root, and have got the Church of England in the middle between them. She has enemies on each side. The Sectaries revile her, and the Romanists cast the same things in her teeth; while she, like her Lord, hangs in agony between two malefactors. Non pendebit semper inter latrones Christus; resurgat veritas. That Church, which has ever been the great bulwark of the Reformation; the great obstacle to the universal dominion of Rome; 'il capo della schisma,' as the Romanists call her,* will not always be vilified by the Sectaries. They will one day find in her a stronghold to defend them from the common enemy, a secure retreat to shelter them from the blast. I will therefore with boldness conclude this chapter with those words of exhortation by St. Augustine.† 'Errando in diversa istis; in medio est via quam reliquistis. Inter vos ipsos longiore intervallo separati estis, quàm ab istâ viâ cujus desertores estis. Vos hinc, vos autem illinc, huc venite. Alteri ad alteros transire nollite; sed hinc atque illinc, ad nos veniendo, invicem vos invenite.'

* Gladstone's *Church Principles*, chap. vii.

† *Exp. in Ev. S. Joannis.*

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCLUSION.

THERE are some objections to the national form, which may still lurk in the mind. To these it is well to advert succinctly, before proceeding to the chapter on the Conflicts of Churches in Europe.

I. It has been urged that a national Establishment of religion is the result of an unfair prejudice; that it amounts to showing an unjust favour to one sect above the others. And that, as every sect cannot be established, it were better that none should be established.

The real gravamen of those who offer such an objection is that they have been thwarted in their desire to impose their 'own theory of government' on the nation. They avowedly oppose the National Church, solely because it is the form in which the nation has chosen to administer education. The opposition of such objectors is political. It is not merely schism, but sedition. They simply oppose the will of the nation.

Moreover, the National Church is not a sect. It has nothing to do with dogmas and speculations. It is national; and therefore is opposed to everything

sectarian. Its sole aim and business is the moral development of all the members of the nation. It is a society for putting down evil. The nation does not choose out a sect to ally itself with. The nation determines merely to raise its moral character, and employs certain officers to perform that work for it. Its object is to educate men to love that which they naturally hate, and would continue to hate, if it were not for some powerfully counteracting agent. The nation has established the National Gallery in order to create in its members a taste for high art; to develope an eye for form, for shade, and for colour; to direct men to admire those great works which they otherwise could not learn to appreciate. So, also, men naturally have a 'depraved taste in music and the drama;' they prefer a low comedy, to 'Hamlet' or 'Lear;' they enjoy the music of Verdi or Balfe, above that of Mozart or Bach. The same rule holds good with regard to the Church (putting it for the moment on no higher ground). If it were not for a National Church, ignorance and prejudice would have full play in religious matters. What is popular is always false, bad, and depraved. There must be a National Church to cultivate a pure religious taste, to say the least of it.

II. We grant that (say the objectors), yet let the clergy manage this by private enterprise.

I will not again repeat what I have said about a clergy-church, but will meet this objection on its own low ground. The National Gallery is not managed by private enterprise. It is the committee which judges what pictures shall be bought. The people do not

judge, although the people pay. Poor Relief is not managed by private enterprise. Nor is any national work committed to private enterprise.

But (say they) we mean that Christianity will propagate itself; that it may safely be left to the providence of God.

Facts prove that Christianity does not propagate itself. The Almighty God certainly provides what seems good to Him. But we must not confound the efficient agent with the means most proper to be used; nor yet the means with the end to be attained. Paul saw the impending shipwreck. God had promised that everyone should escape. Yet Paul did not say that they might be safely left to the providence of God. On the contrary, he explained to the centurion the only means of safety, and said that unless such a course were taken there would be loss of life. To leave all to Providence, to sit quiet and not resort to means, is not faith. It is like an ox waiting for water. God is the Efficient Agent who gives the increase. The Church is the means or instrument which plants and waters. And the end to be attained is the repression of evil. By a miracle the eternal fires might have burned on Jewish altars. Yet God ordained a sacerdotal establishment to keep them alight. So, too, the flame of Christianity might burn with a pure unflickering light. But God has chosen that the Church shall trim the lamps and procure oil, and constantly keep them burning.

III. The Sectarians urge that by destroying the Establishment, they would increase the power of the

Church. This seems very kind of them. At first sight, it appears like an unwitting testimony in favour of the Church; it is like waiving all conscientious objections, and conceding the whole that we contend for. Or else why should they endeavour to increase the power of the Church?

It is not really so. It is an avowal that, in destroying the national character of the Church, they would be setting up a clergy-church; they would be erecting an *imperium in imperio* to override the nation. They would strengthen the power of the hierarchy; but they would thereby impair and weaken the State. We do not want the power of the Church to be increased with respect to the power of the nation. Of the four forms of Church and State, we prefer the National Church, where the Church is the same as the nation.

The objectors follow up this fallacy by misapplying the text, 'My kingdom is not of this world;' as if it meant, 'the world shall not be my kingdom, but the clergy shall be my kingdom.' This is an assumption that the Church means the clergy, and that the laity have nothing to say to Christ's kingdom. Or they assever that, as Christ is the Head of the Church, they want no earthly head, and will not acknowledge the supremacy of the Crown. We certainly do not desire a head of the Church in opposition to the head of the nation. But if the objection means any more than this, the retort to it is easy: Christ is King of the whole earth; do we therefore want no king of England? The Fifth-

monarchy men, when this retort was urged upon them, got out of the dilemma by boldly answering that they did not want a king any more than they required a head of the Church. They therefore concluded, consistently enough, that they were bound in conscience to overthrow all governments, and thus prepare the way for Christ's universal reign, as sole King of all the earth. No one else would deny that kings are instituted and placed in office by God: 'By me kings reign.' Even Pilate drew all his power and authority from above. A king is not a king by any inherent right. He is a king merely as a deputy, agent, or vicegerent of God. A prince, therefore, who does not 'decree justice,' is, in so far, not a king; for he is the agent, not of good, but of evil. Let us not, however, run hastily to the other extreme, and say that, as there must be a king as vicegerent of God, so there must be a pope as vicar of God. For God, who is the God of order, would never implant in a kingdom two warring vicegerents to represent Him. An *imperium in imperio* can be none of His work; such a division of the kingdom is one of the Devil's devices. There must, therefore, be no other visible head of the Church than the king alone. This gives us the national form of Church, and none other. This was the argument used by Tindal: * 'It is said: "That every nation is not a complete body politic within itself as to ecclesiasticals; but the whole Church (say they) composes such a body, and Christ is the

* *Rights of the Christian Church*, p. 380.

Head of it!" But Christ's headship makes Christians no more one body politic with respect to ecclesiasticals than to civils. His precepts equally extend to both, and the whole earth is God's and Christ's kingdom; and yet *the kingdoms of the earth are distinct and independent of one another, and so are all national churches.*'

IV. There is also the very current objection that the object of the State is merely the preservation of body and goods; that the State is, in fact, nothing more than a policeman. Those who consider that the end and aim of the State is to preserve property, must regard the Church as no more than the performer of fetich observances and ceremonies of worship. Such a notion necessarily involves the assumption that the Church is something separate from the State. The Church could never harmonise with such an Epicurean State as that. The duty of the Church is to urge that 'man does not live by bread alone.' The object of such an Epicurean State would be merely to obtain food and ease; to secure a life of undisturbed and careless luxury. No doubt protection for body and goods is a necessary condition of every State. If it does not perform this duty (which, however, is the lowest in the scale of its duties), it cannot be called a State or nation at all: it is merely a herd of animals. Such a nation is sunk in anarchy, until it rises in despotism. And if the despot also cares not for persons and property, then revolution and confusion again stalk over the land. Yet this is the very lowest duty of the State; just

as the care of body and goods (although very necessary and proper) is the lowest duty of a man. Even if the word State were reduced and shrunk up to mean no more than a government or administration, yet (as Socrates used to say) it exists for the good of the governed alone: it is there to benefit them, or make them better men. The concern of a State or nation is the conduct of its citizens. Hence its business is with their thoughts, or, rather, their purposes. The end of the State or nation is man's highest happiness, that is to say, his real benefit.

In this capacity the State or nation is a Church. In bygone centuries the one word *polity* was used to express this one thing in its two aspects. That one thing is a nation or organised community. All the philosophers of ancient times said that the aim of a State was—not physical welfare, not food and clothing, not trade and commerce—but wisdom and justice, man's highest happiness. Every nation (or State) aims at what it deems the *summum bonum*, just as every man also necessarily does. The only question which a nation or a man ever asks is: What is the good thing? If the answer be: 'The good thing which we have to live for, is protection for our bodies and property; or increase of territory and wealth,' then truly the objection is well founded, and cannot be met. But, on the other hand, if such an answer be false, then the objection has no place.

Let us then cast about and look for other answers before we decide. Cicero's answer is contained in his

definition of the term: 'Quid enim est civitas, nisi *juris* societas?' What else can the word *State* denote, than a society founded on the pursuit of Right?* Plato's answer is, that 'Righteousness is the foundation of a State.' Shall I even ask Confucius for an answer: 'The management of a State demands the rules of propriety. . . . If you were not covetous, they would not steal (said he to a great minister of State); the grass must bend the way that the wind blows across it.' Propriety he subsequently defines as self-restraint, or perfect virtue. Aristotle asserted that the first object of a polity is ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐπιμελεία, which Cicero rendered thus: 'Religio est humanæ societatis fundamentum.' 'Justice (said Hooker) is the soul of the body politic.' Even Victor Cousin † defined a State in these words: 'La justice constituée, c'est l'état." It is useless to multiply these answers; they are all on one side. The names of those on the other side have long been forgotten, or else never were known.

There are some latent motives or principles of men's actions. Express these, and what have you? This, Bacon says, is philosophy. If so, then this philosophy affects all the interests of society. It is the regulator of conduct in citizens. It is like the air we breathe: the regenerator of health or the breeder of disease. The principle of government must be to secure good air, to establish a Divine philosophy, to announce what is really the good thing to be pursued.

* Cic. *Rep.* i. 32. † *Cours d'Hist. Phil.* p. 14.

In other words, every Government has to proclaim Righteousness, which is the foundation of a nation.

All legislation proceeds upon this axiom. For law is the Divine government of the world. 'Lex ratio profecta a rerum naturâ,' says Cicero. God works not with hands, says Hooker, but by His Word, which is the same as law; law is that which appoints to a thing its *kind*; it constitutes the *form* of a thing; it directs its working, or determines its effects. The legislatures of different nations are merely the methods used by those nations for obtaining a knowledge of what is law; for determining what is right or just. Therefore Hooker concludes that the law of a State is its expression of justice; and that 'justice is the soul of the body politic.' Statutes merely express what is law—they merely declare what is right and just. Thus Du Moulin:* 'The principal duty of the sovereign visible power, in regulating the actions of men's society, is not to make new laws, but to declare the will of the Grand Legislator—even God—for the right governing of that society according to His Divine will.' And again: 'The office of a sovereign power is only ministerial, and, in regard of God, it is rather an administration than a power; but, in regard of men, because it bindeth to obedience, it is a power and authority.' Justice, or moral power, alone can govern. Force can restrain, not govern. A despot's commands can be enforced, but they can be of no avail to the nation; they can but create

* *Power of the Christian Magistrate.*

confusion, unless they receive weight from the moral feeling of the people. The same is true of a representative polity. The art of government does not consist in the manufacture of majorities. Statesmanship is not dexterity in guile. To baffle a faction is not an exploit of wisdom. No! Laws must express the sense of right which is in every man's breast, although it may be hidden and weighed down under a superincumbent mass of false notions. The question for the statesman, therefore, is how that sense of right can be strengthened throughout the nation: or rather, how it can be relieved from the superincumbent fallacies. Statutes cannot improve the moral feeling; they can, at best, but restrain from open acts of crime. To improve the sense of right in the nation is the function of the National Church; or, rather, it is the duty of the nation, in the performance of which the nation is a Church.

Coleridge could not conceive of anything else. He was so much imbued with the idea of the nationality of the Church that he never stopped to argue about it, but simply assumed it as self-evident. He regarded all political evils as nothing but moral evils or crimes. He enumerates the evils, or rather the complaints, which were commonly heard in his day, from persons of totally different views. Thus: 'The poorer classes are not fit to be trusted with power;' 'The aristocracy are disposed to maintain abuses;' 'The working classes are improvident;' 'The trading classes care for nothing but material

wealth;' 'The higher classes are selfish and cold.' These facts were bandied about as the causes of evil. To these all the miseries in the country were ascribed. Yet not one of them is a cause or efficient agent. The cause of all is moral. Untrustworthy or unfaithful, dishonest, improvident, sordid, selfish; all these words refer to conduct and character; they all denote that men set their hearts on something which is not really good. There is a moral cause for every political evil; a moral want, rather. To remedy this want in the nation is the end of the National Church.

This may be learnt much better from history, whether sacred or profane. The whole drift of the Bible—whether we take Numbers, Judges, Jeremiah, or Isaiah (which Coleridge calls the Statesman's Manual)—is to show that what appear to be political evils are really only moral evils. Milton thus expresses this truth: he is speaking of the Jewish prophets:—

> "But, herein, to our prophets far beneath,
> As men divinely taught, and better teaching
> The solid rules of civil government,
> In their majestic, unaffected style,
> Than all the oratory of Greece or Rome.
> In them is plainest taught, and easiest learnt,
> What makes a nation happy, and keeps it so:
> What ruins kingdoms, and lays cities flat.
>
> *Paradise Regained*, iv. 354.

Tacitus, and Thucydides also, saw that the foundations of a nation's welfare were only moral; not material, by any means. Or take Cicero: 'Nec numero Hispanos; nec robore Gallos; nec callidi-

tate Pœnos; nec artibus Græcos; nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis et terræ domestico nativoque sensu, Italos ipsi et Itali; sed pietate ac religione, atque hac una sapientia, quòd Deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus—omnes gentes nationesque superavimus.' Not by superiority of numbers have we subdued the multitudes in Spain; not by personal strength have we conquered the strong and hardy Gauls; nor by craftiness have we vanquished the cunning Africans. We Italians have not overcome the subtle Greeks by superiority in the arts, nor the inhabitants of this Italian peninsula by that strong native sense and acuté perception which is peculiar to all Italians. It is because of our national piety, and our sense of religion, that we have been victorious over every race and nation. We have become supreme by this one wisdom alone—by thoroughly perceiving that all events are directed and ordered by the presence of the immortal gods.

Of this it is the duty of the National Church to be constantly reminding the nation. It testifies to the fact that righteousness exalteth a nation; that universal cheapness is not the good thing; that supply and demand—those false gods of modern days—are not the source of strength; that union constitutes power, while selfishness is the universal solvent of nations; that not expediency, but right, is the rule of Governments. A king we have, to resist by force the passions of men. The National Church is there to induce men to conquer their own

evil passions. The power which everyone contributes to support the king, is the sense of duty which is in every man's breast. To be godly is the same as to be just. Religion consists in doing justly and loving mercy. But when men come to separate religion and justice (or duty), they hand them over to two separate abstractions, which they call 'the Church' and 'the State.'

In politics, men soon find it convenient to get justice out of their way. Religion, at the same time, becomes stripped of its godliness. The one becomes unscrupulous intrigue; the other is turned into a spiritless, fruitless creed; that is to say, it becomes the mere profession of certain doctrines. Some men turn from doing their duty, and seek to save their souls by holding certain opinions. Others, of a more hardy nature, turn to politics as a means of making wealth or acquiring fame.

'There is no art (writes Milton) that hath been more cankered in her principles, more soiled and slubbered with aphorisming pedantry, than the art of policy; and that most, where a man would think should least be, in Christian commonwealths. They teach not that *to govern well is to train up a nation in true wisdom and virtue*—and that which springs from thence, magnanimity, (take heed of that)—and that which is our beginning, regeneration, *and happiest end, likeness to God, which in one word we call godliness; and that this is the true flourishing of a land*, other things following as the shadow does the substance: to teach thus were "mere pulpitry" to

them. *This is the masterpiece of a modern politician*: how to qualify and mould the sufferance and subjection of the people to the length of that foot that is to tread on their necks; *how rapine may serve itself with the fair and honourable pretences of public good*; how the puny law may be brought under the wardship and controul of lust and will: in which attempt if they fall short, then must a superficial colour of reputation, by all means, direct or indirect, be gotten to wash over the unsightly bruise of honour. . . . Alas, sir! A COMMONWEALTH OUGHT TO BE BUT AS ONE HUGE CHRISTIAN PERSONAGE, ONE MIGHTY GROWTH AND STATURE OF AN HONEST MAN, as big and compact in virtue as in body; for look what the grounds and causes are of single happiness to one man, the same ye shall find them to a whole State, as Aristotle, both in his ethics and politics, from the principles of reason, lays down.'*

Before closing, I will adduce the testimony of three writers, not only because they are themselves writers of weight and authority; but also because they gather up in a few sentences, the pith and marrow of that which I have endeavoured to enforce. Rogers thus enumerates† the adversaries of the Church: 'The *Russes*, who boast how themselves with the Grecians are the only Church of God. . . . The Papists, also, which say that the present Church of Rome is God's Church; . . . and the Puritans, finally, who say . . . either that God hath no Church in England, or

* Milton's *Reformation in England*, b. ii. 1641.

† *The Faith, Doctrine, and Religion professed and protected in the Realm of England*, 1691.

Puritans are the Church. . . . That is false which the Papists deliver, viz. that the king's excellency of power is in respect of the nobility and lay-magistrates under him, and not of popes, bishops, or priests, as they have cure of souls. . . . False, also, is it which the Puritans do hold; namely, that princes must be servants unto the Church; be subject unto the Church; submit their sceptres unto the Church; and throw down their crowns before the Church; that magistrates, as well as other men, must submit themselves and be obedient to the just and lawful authority of the Church, that is, of the Presbytery.'

The next quotation refers to the source of all the troubles in the Church, at various times; and more particularly to the origin of the civil war in England:* 'The ground and cause of the present dissentions and troubles seems to be this, that men have been accustomed, and do conceive that magisterial rule and government in a Christian commonwealth is of two kinds or sorts; namely, civil and ecclesiastical, the one not subordinate to the other; . . . and this seems to have been a principal ground and cause of discord in the Church, in all ages since Christ. . . . Now this pretended ecclesiastical magistracy, assumed by the clergy, was the thing that the apostle speaks of, when he saith: "The mystery of iniquity doth already work," &c. . . . Now, according to the subject or persons in whom it may be, this eccle-

* *Considerations tending to remove the Present Differences*, 1646. 'Written from the Sommer Islands (America) by R. Norwood; and sent over to further the reconciliation of his native country.

siastical magistracy, assumed by the clergy, seems to be principally of four sorts. For it is (1) in the *Pope*, or universal bishop, and his officers; or (2) in a company or *number of bishops* and their officers; or (3) in a *company of ministers* and their officers; or (4) in every *particular minister* and his officers. The first and last of these seem to differ but in this, that the first is universal, and the last particular; the other two also differ in names and degrees, not much indeed. . . . But whilst some would persuade that God hath set up two kinds of magistracy (not subordinate one to the other), and so two kinds of magistrates—as princes and their officers for the one, and clergymen and their officers for the other—they have given occasion of infinite troubles and discords in the Church, from time to time; and this seems to be the principal ground and occasion of the continuance of our present troubles and dangers.'

The last quotation is from 'The Difference about Church Government ended, by J. M., 1646.' The writer asserts that the only true and right way to end the disputes and controversies of that day is, 'that in a Christian kingdom the distinction betwixt ecclesiastical and secular power and rule . . . ceaseth: all this power being in the same persons, viz.: the higher powers, who are *God's vicegerents upon earth, to manage* ALL *rule* and government, over all causes and persons under their dominion, whether secular or ecclesiastical. . . . Oh! what great good would ensue to us all thereby! This great controversy touching Church government, so greatly troubling

and disturbing the whole kingdom, would be sopited; the difference betwixt Presbyterians and Independents ended; the many strange and monstrous errors, lately sprung up, extirpated; all clashing and interfering betwixt two sorts of government, removed.'

We may then safely conclude that, of the four possible forms of Church and State, by far the best is the national form, where the Church is coincident with the nation; where the laity and clerisy are equally balanced, and cooperate towards the same end; where the nation does not override the clergy; nor where the clergy domineer over the nation.

Wherever there is a true Church, and where there is a normal nation, they must be identical. Except where the Church is deformed, or where the nation is depraved, they cannot be otherwise than the same. If there be not this normal condition, then there is either (1) an Ultramontane Church—wherein either the clergy are the mere tools of a despotic Government, or else the clergy override a cowed and prostrate nation; or else (2) there is what I have called Americanism: a congeries of independent powers internally in the State, without any bond of union between them, nor yet any cohesion between the individual members in each sect; where the clergy are merely the tools, the slaves, the panders, of each congregation; and each man spurns all authority, and sets up his own opinion as paramount over the judgment of the learned.

Both Romanism and Americanism are an *imperium in imperio*. Wherever we find either of these forms

in a nation, there are two independent powers, or two societies; one is called ecclesiastical or spiritual, the other political or secular. Each proclaims its own notion of what is lawful. Neither of these forms can coexist with a State, unless one of them at least is warped from its normal character; either Church or State, or both of them, must be abused. If two such mighty powers are to influence our lives for any good, they must surely act in coincidence, not in opposition. Otherwise, society is being drawn two different ways at once. The State must sap the true foundations of all government, by resisting the Church; the Church is rebellious and seditious, in undermining the legitimate authority of the State. These two societies should never exercise independent control over a nation; they should always act together; they should work coextensively throughout the nation, in resisting moral, intellectual, and physical evil.

Great epochs are only the full growth of little thoughts. Whatever great deed has been done in the world has at first been born as a little thought in the mind of a single man. At that time it was despised. But yet it spread, it grew, it went deeper into the soil of men's hearts, until at length it was manifested as a great idea, and became the rallying point and centre of action to thousands. Thus we have seen England, from the earliest ages, opposing an unyielding front to the march of Ultramontanism. The Reformation, centuries afterwards, was merely the full growth of the thought which had been

growing for ages in the heart of the nation. Then it was developed in the Royal Supremacy; which was a formula merely—an exposition or symbol of the essential unity of Church and State.

I have shown that Americanism and Romanism are essentially kindred forms—that they are merely varied manifestations of the same root of error, which germinates in every human heart. They are, therefore, mutually interchangeable, and pass more easily from the one to the other, than to either of the other forms; which are utterly alien to both of them. The National Church is the natural bulwark against the encroachments of each of these errors. It is also the best safeguard against rationalism. It is the ancient landmark of our history. Cursed be he who attempts to remove it!

In the sixteenth century she successfully resisted the ponderous strength of the foreign hierarchical system. Under Charles I. she bore up against the more insidious trial of Romanising patrons. During 'the Commonwealth,' she was buffeted by the repeated assaults of winds and waves from the two opposite quarters. By the grace of God she outrode the storm. The people, disgusted with the way of the Sectaries, and in terror of the inroads of Romanism, speedily returned to her protection. Then she had again to withstand the stealthy advance of Papal power, undermining by schemes more insidious, making advances far more dangerous than her former haughty usurpations. During last century she had to struggle in order to keep alive the flickering flame

of her very life, in the midst of surrounding darkness, and coldness, and indifference. She has, by God's mercy, been preserved through good report and evil report, through the vicissitudes of prosperity and adversity, and has borne the buffets and favours of fortune with an equal scorn. Still she is the same, a rock which withstands the ceaseless shocks of waves and uncertain winds of doctrine.

Yet still that 'monstrous hydra-headed Sectarism' continues to dishonour and defame our Reformation, by vilifying the settlement of Protestantism—by maligning the Confessions and practices of the reformed churches in every land. And yet the results of the want of a national church in America—where the opposite way of the Sectaries exists most untempered and unqualified—are avowedly most patent, most deplorable, most ruinous to morality and religion. Good and energetic men they have there. Those are a blessing to their own little circle. Yet their goodness, in time, becomes less active. Their energy decays with old age, and ceases with their death. Moreover, that energy, even while it lasts, is qualified by the individual man's peculiar opinions and caprices. It is not universal nor constant; for it is not combined with that of others.

Order and unity are legibly impressed on all the works of God. Every imitation of the Divine must therefore exhibit this same character; it must not resemble the desultory, uncombined efforts of isolated and selfish man. In what human institution do we find these characters more clearly written

than in the National Church? Her object cannot be the extension of influence, nor the acquisition of power, nor increased dominion abroad, for she is confined to the limits of the State. Her whole aim is fixed, her whole energies are concentred, on raising and benefiting the nation of which she consists, and from which she derives her support. Ay! and if we all esteemed, and honoured, and loved our Church as our illustrious ancestors did—whose great deeds are the themes of poets, whose great names have been inscribed on scrolls of eternal blazonry—then should we, too, be less of individuals; then should we feel more as members of a great body, deriving power from this very thought, and assistance from all our fellow-labourers about us. For sin is self-will; it is isolation; it is division from our kind. And division is necessarily weakness. Therefore, the more men feel united, the more they are members of one body; the more (that is to say) the remembrance of self is weakened; then the more the freedom and power of the spirit are increased—the more the action of the mind is left unfettered by passions. The united energies and cooperation of a Church are incompatible with an arbitrary independence and isolation. And therefore it is that the National Church tends to depress the idea of self, and promote the strength and welfare of the nation. But, on the other hand, if a man selects for himself some form of worship, if he invents some religion to please his fancy, he only flatters his self-will, and sets himself up as the arbiter of truth and the fountain of law.

In dead and corrupt times the truth lies embalmed in the creeds and prayers of an established church. These hedge in the road on either side. While the system of dissent is like a great plain with its pit-falls and bogs, and no stable beacon to point out the road; nothing but an ignis fatuus of public opinion in each congregation. Moreover, a creed or liturgy stands there for the criticism or investigation of generations. But the extempore prayers of dissent may disseminate error unobtrusively, while the instrument which diffused the error has passed from our ken, as the sounds died away in our ears. A church may, in time, become corrupt. But then the truer and purer forms of bygone times act first as a preventive and check to corruption, and then remain as a protest against error; while the Way of the Sectaries affords opportunities for corruption—nay, actually invites it. For the minister panders to the people; and, if he desire to attract attention by originality, he leaves the beaten path of truth, in order to strike out a new line of his own imagination.

At all events, let us learn from the lives of our ancestors. Let us so far honour our forefathers; who, after more than ten years of thinking and fighting, and discussing and arguing, deliberately came to a conclusion in which nearly all concurred. And this was the same conclusion to which the judicious Hooker had come before; and which the learned of our universities have from his time endorsed with their sanction and approval. Surely we shall not be doing honour to our forefathers, nor

respecting the judgment of our two great universities, if we take it upon us lightly to differ with them. As to those who are Nonconformists, let them learn from their Nonconformist forefathers. Those old Nonconformists, when they first tore themselves from the Church, while the wound was yet fresh, while still smarting under their wrongs, yet defended the principle of a national establishment, and insisted on the duty of maintaining religion by a national provision. But what wounds do Nonconformists now smart under? What wrongs do they now endure? No penalties now harass them. No disabilities now oppress them. Still more than their forefathers, then, should they join with us in desiring that 'peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, may be established amongst us.'

But the objections of the Americanisers are not doctrinal—they are merely political. They justify their nonconformity on a hatred of the Queen's supremacy. The Sectaries are a political faction! and, in their seditious attempts, they have allied themselves with Democrats, and Socialists, and Republicans; with Socinians, Atheists, Deists, Infidels, and Romanists. Surely this does not tend to a furtherance of religion! surely this will not promote the growth of grace and spirituality! Is it from practices like these that we are to judge of the motives which actuate them? In America, where their principle has been carried out to its logical conclusion, it has avowedly destroyed the sanctity of family, the reverence of the young, the authority of

the old, the faithfulness and submission of servants. For a family is the parallel to a church. It is a unity of many members, each with different functions. The bond of union is independent of the wills of the persons composing the family; it imposes obligations on each member which he cannot escape, although he may shun fulfilling them. A brother cannot secede from being a brother, nor a father dissent from being a father. Yet many an elder brother fails to act like a brother, although he is a brother still; and many a father abandons his children to want, yet cannot divest himself of the paternal relation. So also a nation or church is not a mere aggregate of units, a sum of private diverging energies, a multitude of separately struggling and warring atoms. It is a unity. It is a society or association; there are many members, with different functions, but one aim. Every man who is an Englishman is a churchman too, whatever he may say or do to the contrary. He cannot escape the duty, he cannot free himself from the obligation, which the position necessarily imposes upon him.

The foundations of society do not, and cannot, lie in the will of man. The individual wills must, in all cases, be overruled by some government. The very term society implies a sacrifice of personal liberty for the common good of all. This is so, even where the votes of the majority obtain. There must be some law above both majority and minority to bind the minority to obey. Otherwise, all is resolved into a mere oppression of brute force. Right

becomes nothing but might. Yet such a doctrine was utterly scouted by pagans; who almost universally held that man is not born for himself, but for society. Therefore the State must seek first the good of the whole society, and then that of the individual. Similarly, it is each man's duty to seek first the good of the State, and afterwards his own private benefit.

On this very ground the National Church is built. She seeks first the amelioration of the nation; and the edification of the individual only in the second place. The vast machinery, with all its well-appointed parts and curious mechanism, is there. Yet it is out of gear. The rivets have rusted away, and the limbs have become detached. There is still the vestry of the people, with its churchwardens; the rector of the parish, with his curates; the well-balanced lay and clerical elements; the rural and urban deans; the archdeacons; the bishop over each see; the archbishops ruling provinces; and the Queen over the archbishops, above the din of faction, above the clamour of wrangling sects and contending dogmas. But the intimate relations between these parts have become attenuated. The life in this order and unity has become numbed and cold. What mechanic will repair the engine without imperilling the fragile parts; and supply the rivets without destroying the ease in working? Yet how shall the Church of the nation, with its candour and want of reticence, be made strong to resist those great ultramontane churches, with all the assistance of mystery

and intrigue, and of the hundred-handed monsters of secret societies, to work out their purposes in the dark? Is it not the paramount duty of everyone to aid the Church, and not frustrate her efforts? to be the Aaron or Hur, and bear up her wearied hands during the struggle, rather than the Jeroboam to set up golden calves, and make groves on every high hill, and seduce the people away from the national temple at Jerusalem?

Has not scepticism been steadily advancing during the last two hundred years; now progressing, more than ever, with long strides—because the barriers which should limit it, and oppose its progress, are weakened, and partly swept away? In former days men stood up for truth and justice, for mercy and goodness. Now this immaterial wealth is despised for the sake of material interests, for money and manufactures and merchandise. They looked to heaven in ancient times. They dreaded Olympus, and the gods which walked with men, in pagan lands of yore. They valued truth more than life in the early Christian age. Now cotton wares and cheap things for the million have taken the place of those better things. And why? Because the Church—the witness of better things than silver or gold—the monitor for erring men—has been weakened, hemmed in, and despised.

Alas! that, in these days of storm and trouble—in this uncertainty and anxiety—the horizon darkened by portentous war—the land in the anguish of want—those who style themselves patriots, and think

themselves statesmen, should pull down the sea-wall, behind which the nation has ridden calmly and securely, and withstood the tempests of generations which raged and broke against it. Alas! that they should attempt to raise a structure further out to sea, upon a shifting and insecure foundation; which has often been tried, and has swallowed up many an edifice in everlasting perdition. Ay! and they would build their new sea-wall with untempered mortar, with hay, and straw, and stubble, which can never be a defence in the storm. But we will pray for the peace of Jerusalem. Peace be within thy walls! prosperity within thy palaces! For my brethren and companions' sake I will now say, Peace be within thee!

THE

CONFLICTS OF CHURCHES.

'The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done, is that which shall be done; and there is no new thing under the sun.'—Eccles. i. 9.

. . . . γιγνόμενα μὲν, καὶ ἀεὶ ἐσόμενα, ἕως ἂν Ἡ ΑΥΤΗ ΦΥΣΙΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ᾖ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἡσυχαίτερα, καὶ τοῖς εἴδεσι διηλλαγμένα, ὡς ἂν ἕκασται αἱ μεταβολαὶ τῶν ξυντυχιῶν ἐφιστῶνται.

Thucyd. b. iii. ch. 82.

THE

CONFLICTS OF CHURCHES.

I NOW enter upon a part of the question which, I confess, I am not qualified to discuss more fully. I can but give a few scattered instances of what seems to be one phase, at least, of the principles of diplomacy. Except when a nation is constrained to repel an invader from its shores, what cause of war can there be, except either religion or commerce? England has waged many wars in order to secure to herself a superiority in the markets of the world. But now men hold that not one party alone is benefited—that both reap an advantage from a free interchange of goods; while a commerce which is not free can benefit neither party. As long as this opinion prevails, there cannot well be wars for commerce. Such a war must be regarded as injurious. There have been conflicts which have been called wars of succession. Yet in these the disputed succession was merely the ostensible ground of war. The succession was disputed either because a country would thereby obtain a too great preponderance in the markets of the world; or else (as might now be thecase in Holstein) the struggle was commenced in

order to seat upon the throne, a secret or avowed adherent of one of the contending Churches. I must not, however, enter into detail. Diplomacy is secret. Negotiations are concealed from the *ignobile vulgus*. I can therefore do no more than snatch at Ariadne's thread, as some dim ray of light struggles through the darkness, and partially reveals the friendly clue which guides us through the labyrinth.

The various Churches are undoubtedly always at variance with each other, unless where two of them form a temporary alliance, in order to bring their united strength against a third. The Roman Church has for centuries maintained a struggle against the Greek Church. We have all heard, in college days, of the disputes of the Western and Eastern, that is, of the Latin and Greek, Churches. We have, some of us, heard of what appears to others (who do not know this) a 'monomaniac' fanatical hatred of Russia.* Have not moreover the deep thoughts and persistent method of the notorious Loyola been for three centuries directed against Protestantism too? As for the Turk, he is a friend of the Jesuit, as both are enemies to Russia.

The pagans never persecuted one another; they never had wars on a religious account; because the religion they maintained was never aught but national. But since the time of Christ there has been a sword but not peace; not worship, but doctrine. There have therefore been holy wars, religious wars, defences of the faith, persecutions, murders by whole-

* The Earl of Derby, Dec. 15, 1861.

sale, exterminations of heretics, repression of schismatics. From the time of Constantine, at least, religious opinion has been the real ground of innumerable massacres, villanies, and violence. Lord Burghley, the great statesman, the acute diplomatist, asserted that 'there was no stronger feeling of animosity than that on account of religion.'* What he spoke of was not the politics of a date now long past and gone. The name may have changed; it may now be more sleek and comely in appearance: the thing itself is the same, and must ever remain so while the heart of man is unchanged. Why did Napoleon I. despoil Pius VII.? Because he desired to get the Pope into his own hands. And what benefit would an infirm old prisoner be to the experienced commander of 600,000 men? 'I did not despair' (said Napoleon) 'of obtaining, by some means or other, the guidance of the Pope for myself; and then, what an influence it would have been!' Of course! he could then have swayed all Roman Catholic countries, and obtained power over the body and soul of every Papist in every foreign land.† The Emperor Napoleon III. now keeps an army at Rome. Things have not changed. There is nothing new under the sun. The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which has been done, is that which shall be done. . . . *γιγνόμενα μὲν, καὶ ἀεὶ ἐσόμενα, ἕως ἂν ἡ αὕτη φύσις ἀνθρώπων ᾖ.*

The conflicts of Churches are the conflicts of races;

* Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, p. 33.

† See Döllinger, *Church and Churches*, p. 374.

for the religion goes with the blood. The son is what his father was; for the prejudices of youth are always strong in after-life. Therefore it is that the peculiarity of religion adheres to the variety of blood. Those who have attended petty sessions or other law-courts in the north of Ireland, must have remarked numerous little instances of this law. In assault cases, whether it be the fight of two men or a street row between many combatants, how invariably is it the case that the one party have the swarthy, sanguine aspect, with the dark hair and the fiery temper of Milesians; while the other party consists of men of more lymphatic temperament, of light hair, blue eyes, and pale faces, with the sturdiness and independent feelings of the Saxon! The former, without exception, are Roman Catholics; the latter are Presbyterian Protestants. So distinctly have the characteristics of races and religions been preserved, even there, through the long lapse of centuries! So inevitably do religion and race go together! This is the history of the rows of Orangemen and Ribbonmen at home.

In regions of difficult access, in lonely islands, on rugged mountains, you find the old religion and the old race. The conquering religion has found it difficult to invade. Mountain fastnesses preserve the remnants of a creed; like the smoking ruins which are the footprints of war. Where castles are quite levelled to the ground, there is no evidence of struggle. The remnants of creeds prove the destroying conflicts of Churches.

A language question is another name for the struggles of races or the conflicts of Churches. That language and race go hand in hand is no more doubted than that race and religion go always together. But how (it may be asked) are language and religion so intimately allied? Take any of the 'language questions' which vex Europe. Investigate it. Is the hostile language forbidden on the market-place, or in the field, or by the fireside? No. The services of the Church have to be performed either not at all, or else in the language of the ruler. Thus, whether it be the religion which is persecuted, or the language which is suppressed, you have rival chapels springing up, if they can do so with impunity.

Of the population of Europe, one-third (in round numbers) are Roman Catholics, one-third are of the Greek Church, and one-third Protestants. Similarly, one-third are of Latin extraction, one-third are Sclavonic, and one-third Germanic. The characteristic of the *Latin Races* is a striving after unity, at the expense of the individual. In the State, this tendency produces a 'centralised organisation,' or the absorption of the individual into the State. In the Church, this tendency produces a centralised religion, namely, Popery, or the absorption of the individual into the Church. The characteristic of the *Germanic Races* is a love of the freedom and active energies of the individual. Each man takes care of himself, and is enterprising for himself. In the State, this produces self-government; and in the Church there is Protestantism. To the three Churches

already enumerated, we must add a fourth; the Mahommedan religion. This is not a Church; neither is it European. Yet we must now take it into account. Mahommedanism extends over Turkey and Persia. In the former, it is Sunnite; in the latter, Shiite. The Sunnites worship the invisible God; the Shiites worship the sun and the hosts of heaven. Turkey is, however, the representative power of Mahommedanism, the sultan being caliph. Russia is the representative power of the Sclavonic race, and of the Greek or Eastern Church (of which the Tzar is the head and impersonation). For the Latin race and the Latin Church there are many representatives—many Roman Catholic powers. France, however, calls herself *the eldest son* of that Church. If so, she is, I believe, the prodigal son. Austria has been a stauncher ally, but lacks the courage; Spain lacks both courage and energy. Of the Protestant powers, there are also many—England, Prussia, Sweden, &c. The *American* missionaries are the most active in promulgating doctrines and compassing both sea and land to make proselytes. There are, therefore, four great Churches or Powers struggling for the dominion of the world: the Latin, the Greek or Sclavonic (with Russia for head), the Protestant, and the Mahommedan (with the Porte for head).

The animosity of the Porte towards the Christians is not nearly so violent as the bitterness of the Christian Churches towards each other. Mahommedanism does not deal in doctrines; they therefore feel no hostility. The prejudices of the Europeans

against the poor Mahommedans are very bitter. They would be glad to see the Cross subdue the Crescent. The Protestants would prefer to see the triumph of the Eastern rather than that of the Western Church.

Here is a curious instance of the bitterness of Christians. Servia and Bosnia were reconquered by the Mahommedans at the middle of the fifteenth century. The inhabitants of these countries were Greek Christians; they were, therefore, hated by the Hungarians and Poles, who were Romanists. The decisive battle of Varna, between the Mahommedans and the Latin army, which was led by Hunyades, had not yet taken place. A Servian of the name of Brankovitch asked Hunyades what he would do with respect to religion, if victory favoured him. Hunyades replied that he would compel the country to become Roman Catholic. Brankovitch then went to the Sultan, and put the same question. The Sultan replied that 'he would build a church near every mosque, and then leave the people at liberty to bow in the mosques or to cross themselves in the churches,' according to their respective creeds. The Servians and Bosnians, who heard of this, thought it wise to submit to the Mahommedans.*

Charlemagne's empire and the Pope's spiritual power were coextensive. The latter (that is to say, the Latin Church) was in direct antagonism with the Mahommedans in Spain, the Greek Church in the Eastern Empire, and the pagan Avars in Hungary and Saxony.

* Dr. Latham's *Nationalities of Europe*, vol. i. p. 91.

The Eastern Emperor Leo soon took away Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, as well as Illyria, Epirus, Macedonia, Achaia, and Thessaly, from the Roman pontiff; and gave these provinces to the Greek Patriarch at Constantinople. The jealousies and animosities between the Latin and Greek Churches were thereby greatly inflamed. At the Council of Rome, in A.D. 852, the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Eastern Church were excommunicated; and at the Council of Constantinople, in A.D. 866, the Latin pontiff and Western Church received a similar damnation. In the year 1053, the contest was renewed with increased vigour between the East and the West, says Mosheim, 'under pretence of zeal for the truth and for religion; but it really flowed from pride and lust of rule in the two pontiffs.'* At the Council of Florence, in 1439, an attempt to conciliate them was made. The condition, however, was the submission of the Greeks. Instead of the two Churches being cemented, therefore, they were put farther apart than ever. A few years after this (in 1453), Constantinople was taken by the Mahommedans. The Russian Church then threw off its allegiance to the Patriarch at Constantinople, and became the Russo-Greek Church (as I have stated in a preceding chapter); and the Mahommedan conqueror, as sovereign of Constantinople, became the secular head of the Greek Church.

At the end of the sixteenth century, the Jesuits first appeared in Russia. The object for which they

* Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 353.

unremittingly laboured was to bring Russia again under the See of Rome. With this object they obtained political ascendency in Poland, and became formidable enemies of the Muscovites. They operated by stirring up wars and revolutions against them.* Of this period Dr. Latham gives the following account:—

'The means by which the Latin Church contrived to trespass upon the domain [of Russia] have commanded our attention before. They command it here. They are always important. They imply Jesuit influence, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; an opening for French intrigues now or at any future time. They imply the old story of the Holy Places, or some equivalent pretext, when the anti-Papal power is weak: a patient waiting for opportunities when (like Russia) it is strong. They imply, even with Russia, the elements of a bargain with the Pope. At the time under notice, all this went for little, but when Lithuania became the weaker vessel in the Polish union, and when Poland became Jesuit, it was pregnant with mischief.' †

The Emperor Alexander, in order to decrease the relative weight of the Roman Church, formed the Holy Alliance; which was a sort of Christian union without any visible Head; thus setting aside, or

* Peter the Great expelled the Jesuits, by a ukase, in 1719. They reentered the empire during the reign of Catharine II., but were again driven out in 1815, by a ukase. The ukase asserts that they 'set the husband against the wife, and the daughter against the mother.'

† Latham's *Nationalities of Europe*, vol. i. p. 401.

shunting the Pope. These few facts are a sufficient clue to the continued hostility between the Eastern and Western Churches: they are instances of the settled hatred of the Roman Church to Russia.

I now pass to the conflicts between Romanism and Protestantism. On this point it will not be necessary to enlarge, as we know it to our cost in Western Europe. With regard to the opposition between these two Churches in England, I have already been obliged to say much in anticipation. Matthew Tindal asserts that 'it is notorious that the mark the Papists always have, and always will aim at, is the destruction of the National Church.' * I have already shown the part that the Romanists took in fomenting the schisms in England, by the incendiary writings which they published, and the reports which they spread. Marsden mentions, for instance,† that the libels of Martin-Marprelate, which were ostensibly put forward by the Brownists, were in reality Jesuit publications. It will be remembered also that, during the wars with Napoleon, the Irish Roman Catholics turned against us, and sympathised with the French; although measures of relief had been freely granted to them in 1791 and 1792. Therefore, even this country enjoys no immunity from the operation of the common law of Churches; that they shall ever be in a state of hostility. I pass to the continent of Europe.

After the eleventh century Popery, which was just then appearing in all its deformity, carried on a

* *Rights of the Christian Church*, p. lxxx.
† *Dictionary of Christian Churches*, p. 131.

vigorous contest with the kings of Europe, who were supreme over their own churches. This animosity was very hot during the Hussite war (1418–1431); it raged also from the year 1500 to 1650, when part of Europe struggled against the pretensions of the Pope, and the rest fought with equal vehemence in support of the Roman Church. Until this day Germany has been split into two; the northern half being Protestant and the other Roman Catholic. The jealousies of these two render the unity of Germany impossible. The thirty years' war was a contest carried on by the Protestant north against the Romanist south. The Protestant States of Germany, aided by Sweden, opposed the Emperor of Austria, supported by the King of Spain.

Livonia, Estonia, and Ingria were but the battle-field, some years later, between Russia, Sweden, and Poland; that is to say, between the Greek, the Protestant, and the Roman Churches. The Earl of Nottingham, in his 'Memorial on the State of the Nation,' asserts that the wars of Marlborough were, at bottom, the conflicts of the Protestant and Roman Churches. These are his words:* —'His Grace the Duke of Marlborough, at the time that he exposes his person abroad in defence of the Church against her professed enemies, though he was one of the first who, to rescue the same Church from Popery at home, joined with the pious arms of the Prince of Orange, ... witness the immortal trophies gained

* *Memorial on the State of the Nation*, by the Earl of Nottingham, 1705. Somers's *Tracts*, III. iv. 150.

by his victorious sword at Schellemberg, Hochstet, and by his forcing of the lines in Flanders. But this, even this, is his crime; he thus irrevocably defeats all the French schemes of the mock Court at St. Germains, and frustrates the expectations of their Popish and High-Church friends on this side of the water.' Even in America, as Dr. Döllinger testifies,* there are the elements of religious wars between Protestants and Roman Catholics, which are likely enough to break out.† I need not point to any more instances to prove that there is, between these Churches, an animosity which is sufficient to kindle a war, wherever they chance to meet together.

The hostility of Russia to the Porte is too well known to need comment. The Roman Church, in former days, waged great wars, which were dignified by the name of crusades, against the Mahommedan religion. In these days, the bitterness between the Eastern and Western Churches, and the growing power of Russia, have induced the Roman Church to ally itself with Mahommedanism against the common enemy.

The foregoing is sufficient to establish the fact that Churches are always in a state of hostility towards each other. Before applying this principle to the occurrences of these days, it is necessary to consider the weapons of warfare which are used by

* *Church and the Churches*, p. 247.

† It appears, from the correspondence just published, that President Davies of the Southern Confederacy has cherished amicable relations with the Pope and the Roman Church. (See the *Times* of this day, January 5, 1864.)

the Churches in their attempts to overcome each other.

The extension of the Russian empire (and therefore of the Russo-Greek Church, also) is, with the Russians, the great national object. With them every war is therefore a religious war. In their Church-liturgy, prayers are offered up for the continual extension of the Tzar's empire and of the Holy Church of Russia. At the commencement of the war of 1855 the Synod (as we shall see hereafter) exhorted the people to devote themselves and their wealth to the cause of Russia and their Church. Thus Russian wars are religious wars. We must remember, however, that the Russian Church is a mere tool of the Cabinet, and is presided over by a general officer of the army. Thus the political influence of Russia abroad, flows from the Cabinet through the altar. The missionaries of the Church are political emissaries. They are sent to preach peace and breed sedition. With them this is a worthy object: for it is done with a worthy end—namely, the spread of their religion.

In no other way could the empire be extended, but by means of this fiction of a Russian Church. In no other way could it be even held together. For the empire consists of Russes, Germans, Poles, Cossacks, Tartars, Sclaves, &c. How can this medley be welded into a unity? By having a Sclavonian Church for the whole Sclavonian empire. Every other religion, therefore, must be put down by force, wherever Sclavonians chance to be. Hence the hatred of the Russians for the Poles, and of the Poles for the Russians.

There is not, however, a complete unity in Russia. There are schismatics in the empire, who look to the Sultan (and the Patriarch of Constantinople) as their head; just as there are schismatics in the Ottoman empire who look up to the Tzar. These schismatics are called Raskolniks, or Starovirtze. An immense tract of country, between the Pruth and the Volga—the southern part of European Russia—is inhabited by Starovirtze, together with some Romanists or United Greeks, Mussulmans, and a few Buddhists. The races which this territory comprises are Poles, Malo-Russians, Tartars, Cossacks, and Calmucks. From this population the Russians draw all their cavalry and artillery. The number of the Starovirtze is about twelve millions. As all these acknowledge the Sultan as their head, nearly as much as the Mahommedans do, they, of course, occasion serious apprehensions and anxiety to the Russian Government.

Let us now leave Russia, and proceed to the Ottoman empire. There we have the Ismaëliyeh, or Durzi. They used to be called also Ansariyeh or Assassins. The date of their origin is supposed to be 899 A.D. It is a secret society. Their chief locality is Syria, from Antioch to Nahr-el-Kelb; also in Asia Minor, extending as far west as Bagdad, and even into Persia. The founder of them, turning to a disciple, commanded him to plunge a dagger into his heart; he ordered another to throw himself into the Tigris; he bade a third to cast himself from the precipice. The three obeyed without an instant's

hesitation: for their system is founded on the most implicit submission and unreasoning obedience. On admission into the society they take oaths of the most inviolable secresy; and call down upon themselves instant death for any shortcomings or breach of vow. Their plan of operations is founded on a knowledge of the passions and weaknesses of men. They flatter men's passions, they humour their weaknesses, in order to worm themselves into men's affections. Their whole system consists of dissimulation. They profess the religion, and affect the manners, habits, and character of those with whom they happen to converse. With the licentious they are licentious, with the gay they are gay, in conformity with their system of cunning. They are not licentious from vice; for every passion has been carefully weeded out of their hearts, by means of abstinence, severe discipline, vigils, laborious prayers, and tedious ceremonies. When they operate upon any man, they commence by raising doubts in his mind. Cautiously and by degrees they destroy all belief and uproot all religious conviction. With the doubts, they also raise scruples, until they have established a spiritual despotism over the victim's wavering and uncertain mind. Yet all this is screened by a hypocritical preaching of piety and abstinence. There is the most perfect organisation in the society; a regular scale of grades and orders. But the General or Sheik resides (or did reside) far from the scene of action in Persia; whence he issues his orders, and where he receives his reports.

Dr. Latham, in his account of the war in Daghestan in 1827, gives a curious account of Muridism, which is at least very much akin to the Ismaëliyeh, if it be not identical. For he says: 'In Ismaëliyeh the reader will find much that reminds him of what occurred in the Lesgian wars—the same mixture of rationalism and transcendentalism; the same fanaticism; the same blind devotion to individual leaders; the same mystery; the same contempt of life. Above all this, he will find that the locality for the two histories thus characterised is nearly the same. Syria, the land of the true Ismaëliyeh, is, doubtless, far from Lesgistan; but Syria was only an affiliated district. The true Ismaëliyeh locality was the neighbourhood of the great Demavend mountain—Demavend being politically Persian, geographically and geologically Caucasian.'* Schamyl, the great Circassian chief, was simply a Murid under Kazi Mullah. Hence he derived much of his power, and secured the devotion of his followers in the wars against Russia.

The Khanate of Alp Arslan Khan, in 1823, consisted of the Kasi-Kumuk and Kurali districts. The Tzar of Russia was Arslan's suzeraine. Second in authority to Arslan was the Mullah Mohammed. He was an ascetic, and almost blind from study. In 1823, Kazi Mohammed came to the Mullah, from Bokhara, to be the Mullah's disciple. Shortly afterwards Kazi and the Mullah left Daghestan for a time, and went to Kundomir in Shirvan, on the borders of Persia, to be initiated into some mystery. 'There was a war at this time between Persia and

* *Nationalities of Europe*, vol. i. p. 340.

Russia, and many men believed that he was simply an agent from Persia. . . . The general character of Muridism is Persian. It is not a sect. It is rather a political organisation, with a religious stimulus as the moving power. It is, so to say, a revival; but a revival of a catholic and unsectarian character. It is an ecclesiastical revival—a revival as opposed to a secular decay. It is a protest against the political Erastianism of the representative of the Kalif, with an appeal to the Mahommedan world in general, with a special one to the nationality of the Caucasian mountaineers; and it begins in the most Persian part of Caucasus during a war between Persia and Russia. At the same time it is not too Persian. Bokhara is Uzbek as well as Sart, Turk as well as Persian. Shirvan is on the confines of Persia. Above all, the Caucasus is, in its political relations, decidedly Ottoman. Hence, the representative of the Kalif is not the Shah of Persia, but the Sultan of Constantinople. On the other hand, its whole spirit is Persian rather than Turk, and that in its best as well as its worst parts. It is comprehensive: "*Let the distinction between the Sunnites and the Shiites be merged into the great question of the independence of Mahommedanism* AS A RELIGION. The higher powers, the Sultans and the Shahs, have backslided. They treat the Christian potentates as friends, equals; nay, even as superiors. Let the faithful at large take back what the kings of the earth have surrendered; and let the Church, with its Mullahs, represent the people." '*

* Dr. Latham's *Nationalities of Europe*, vol. i. p. 333.

Such then is Muridism, or the Ismaëliyeh, which is probably the same as the Ansariyeh or ancient Assassins, and the present Durzi or Druses. Its great object is '*the independence of Mahommedanism as a religion.*' It is the instrument used by one of the conflicting Churches.

What instrument, then, does there exist for establishing the supremacy of the Western or Roman Church? What agents are there who work unceasingly in every country to accomplish the end so long desired by that Church? Are there none who move secretly, unobtrusively, ever ready to seize on any occasion which presents itself for weakening an enemy, by sowing discord; or for strengthening their own relative power, by fanning any smouldering embers of discontent which may lie unobserved in a hostile nation? The advance of the Roman Church, the increase of the power of the Pope, the extinguishing of Protestantism, was the avowed object of Don Iñigo Lopez de Recalde,* when he conceived the order of the Jesuits in 1534. Their very existence is now, however, doubted, or carelessly pooh-poohed. It is not thought worthy of a man of sense to look upon Jesuitism as more than the nightmare of those disturbed hours of darkness long gone by. There may be secret instruments (say they) to aid the cause of the great Sclavonic Church; there may be obscure agents to carry on a mental conflict for Mohammedanism; but for the great Latin Church!—what man

* Ignatius Loyola.

of sense could ever suppose that the Roman Church could have the wit to use such instruments in order to attain their much-cherished object? Let us contrast these men of sense — who, like the ostrich, blind their eyes and cry that they see no danger— let us contrast them with Lord Palmerston. That statesman, in speaking of the war of 1847, used these words: 'The cause, the original cause of the conflict was the Jesuits; it was their presence in Switzerland—it was their aggressive proceedings in the Protestant cantons which produced that war.'* And again: 'I stated that it was my belief, that the presence of the Jesuits in any country, Catholic or Protestant, was likely to disturb the political and social peace of that country. I maintain that opinion still, and I do not shrink from its avowal.' †

Dr. M'Neile, of Liverpool, on February 9, 1863, made a speech in which he thus detailed some of the 'Secret instructions of the society,' as given in the second edition, 'Paris: Ponthieu, Libraire au Palais Royal, 1826.' Second chapter: 'The way in which the heads of the society are to acquire and maintain an intimacy with princes, nobles, and influential people. (1) They must use every effort to gain the ear and goodwill of princes and high personages, in order to make them subservient to our purposes. (2) Experience has taught us that ecclesiastics can get into favour with princes and nobles by justifying their

* Hansard, vol. cxxiv. p. 240. And see *Times*, February 18, 1853.

† See also a very interesting work, *Loyola and Jesuitism*, by Isaac Taylor. Longman, 1849.

vices, as in the case of unlawful marriages, &c. . . . (5) They are, above all, to win over the favourites and domestics of princes and nobles by little presents and various offices of piety, in order that, through them, we may become acquainted with their temper and habits, and the more easily accommodate ourselves to them. . . . (7) Princesses and ladies of title are easily gained over, through the ladies of the bed-chamber; wherefore, let great attention be paid to such, for through them the whole secrets of each family will be fully disclosed to us.'

I quote these instructions in order to make apparent the strange similarity in the weapons used by different Churches, in their conflicts with other Churches. Compare these instructions with the system of the Ismaëliyeh. Bear in mind that the foundation of that Oriental system is an unreasoning obedience and the most abject submission. Look on this picture and on that, and the family likeness must forcibly strike you.

Dr. M'Neile, at p. 19 and p. 20 of his published speech,* gives (from Archbishop Usher's works) the oath which every member of the society used to be obliged solemnly to swear; in which he had to 'denounce and disown any allegiance as due to any heretical king,' and to acknowledge the Pope as 'the only Head of the Universal Church throughout the earth,' and to affirm that the Pope, through the *Power of the Keys* which he possesses, has authority

* *Indications of the Actions of the Jesuits.* Watts, Crown Court, Temple Bar.

to depose all 'kings, princes, states,' &c. It concluded in words which plainly enough declare that the sole object for which that society had been instituted was to carry on the war between the Roman Church and the other three Churches with which she was in continual conflict: 'I do further declare that I will help, assist, and advise all or any of His Holiness's agents, in any place wherever I shall be, in England, Scotland, or Ireland, or in any other territory or kingdom I shall come to, and *do my utmost to extirpate the heretical Protestants' doctrine, and to destroy all their pretended powers, regal or otherwise.* I do further promise and declare that *I am dispensed with to assume any religion heretical for the propagation of the Mother Church's interests*, to keep secret and private all her agents' counsels from time to time as they intrust me, and to execute all that shall be proposed, given in charge, or discovered unto me, by you my ghostly father, or any of this sacred convent. All which I, A. B., do swear, by the Blessed Trinity,' &c.

There is something that is great in *the system itself* (apart from its objects); but there are two fatal errors lying at the very spring, which poison the whole stream and render the waters bitter to the taste. First, a blind unreasoning obedience has to be yielded to one man. It is not merely obedience, nor merely submission. For it does not relate to acts alone, but to thoughts also; nay, it extends over the very will. If the General issues an order, the subordinate must not only obey, but he must, by

long-acquired habit, not even think whether the order is prudent, or whether the deed is right; he may not even wish it otherwise. If the General were perfect God himself, this would be right and Christian. But the General is a man, and therefore is liable to error. Every Jesuit, therefore, makes himself the instrument of evil. 'But,' say they (and this is the other fatal error), 'if our end is great and good, then surely any means which will compass that end must be good too: for evil cannot produce good.' This is 'doing evil that good may come.' This doctrine is sufficient to justify any wrong, to instigate to the perpetration of crime. They should think of the duty which lies at their feet, and not look to far-off ends. They should act justly, and not speculate. Besides, the end is not good; it is the propagation of doctrine.

Yet their principles have somewhat noble in them, as those of the Ismaëliyeh also have. There is that total abnegation of self, that obedience and submission, that entire restraint of all passions and feelings —all which amount, alas! to a destruction of individuality. In a Jesuit there is nothing personal. There is a General; there are chiefs under him. These are the reason and will of the society. The rest are only limbs, and have to act as they are bidden, with no more will than mute matter has. Although each member is divested of all self, yet the society (considered as one thing) is like an utterly selfish man; the society, as a whole, has ambition; it was instituted to get into its hands a spiritual do-

minion over the whole world—to establish a Universal Roman Church. If anyone interferes with this mission, he is an adversary to them; he is obnoxious to what they hold to be a religious purpose. He is, therefore, subjected to a thousand secret calumnies. Obscure hints, dark suggestions, uncertain rumours are set afloat to his prejudice. This they can do without remorse or compunction; for, as their object appears good to them, their principles enjoin the use of any means which cunning can suggest.

Their operations are military operations, in the great conflict of the Churches. They have but one purpose before them, and they are always driving hard at that, by maligning, by accusations, by denunciations; their conversation is war; they never speak but to trip up the heels of an adversary. Their hand is against everyone in a Protestant country; they are a society of *Ismaëls*. Yet, by every pleasant art, by lively talk, by the finest flattery, they seek to gain over men of power; and thus indirectly get the ear of kings, and make those royal personages, if not one of themselves, like Louis XIV., at least a dupe who falls in with their schemes. Therefore they conquer or cajole ministers, either personally or else through a powerful subordinate.

For the weapons of warfare of the Eastern and Western Churches, and of Mahommedanism, let that suffice. What weapon has Protestantism? What agents has she? What powerful body supports her in the conflict? Or does she oppose her naked body all defenceless in the struggle? Alas! not only

so; but the Sectaries who should support her cause actually turn against her, and weaken her hands by their bitter attacks on the National Church, and by pandering to the Roman form instead.

PART II.

THE RUSSIAN WAR—POLAND—ITALY—MEXICO—THE EASTERN QUESTION.

RUSSIAN WAR.

From the '*Correspondence respecting the Rights and Privileges of the Latin and Greek Churches*, 1854,' I draw the following evidence, to show that the Russian war was merely a Church conflict. France, on the part of the Pope and the Roman Catholic powers, disputed against Russia and the Greek Church, concerning the Holy Places in Jerusalem. This subject was merely the accidental occasion of the outbreaking of a long-continued enmity and a deeply-settled hatred. As to the Mahommedans, they were (wrote Sir S. Canning)* inclined to favour the Latins; of which fact the Russian Cabinet bitterly complained.† But yet they were anxious to temporise, because of the large number of Greek subjects of the Porte. This made the dispute 'vexatious' in the extreme to them.

In common parlance we talk of 'national feeling.' The sentiments concerning religion are much stronger

* *Correspondence*, p. 18. † *Ibid.* p. 304.

than national feeling; those passions are more easily aroused, and burn with far greater fierceness. In this dispute the passions of the combatants had for years been pent up, and now were ready to burst all bounds. How, otherwise, could two great nations, consisting of millions of men—one nation the most refined and polished; the other stern and rugged, and little given to sentiment—how could they quarrel about so small a matter? Because a Latin passed through a side door in a church of Bethlehem, of which the Greeks kept the key,* five corps d'armée, 144,000 strong, were, by one combatant alone, moved towards the ground.†

In this war (Lord Clarendon asserted) the interests of France and England were identical. Take this statement, together with the fact that France was on good terms with Russia at the close of the war, if not sooner,—and with the expressions of Lord Herbert and of Mr. D'Israeli in the House.‡ Does it not seem as if France were not really very cordial in the cause of the Pope? Her subsequent action in Italy confirms such a supposition. With so many Papists on her soil, she must have had a difficult card to play. She had to *pretend* to be the champion of the Roman Church.

Sir George Seymour, writing from St. Petersburgh,§ related a conversation with the Emperor, to prove that the real ground of dispute was jealousy between

* *Correspondence*, pp. 42, 47, 54. † *Ibid.* p. 57.

‡ 'We are agreed with our enemy,' said Lord Herbert. The latter censured it for being no more than a war of 'credulity and connivance.'

§ *Correspondence*, p. 58.

the Greek and Latin Churches. Count Nesselrode, the chancellor of the Russian empire,* avowed that it was merely the old question of religious supremacy in the East, which† had been raging ever since the year 1740. Subsequently again ‡ he stated that the object of the quarrel was merely 'the adjustment of Church difficulties.' Prince Menchikoff's complaint § to Lord Stratford confirmed that statement. The grievance was *the unceasing and restless desire of the Latin Church, 'which proclaims itself universal, to extend the sphere of its action and influence.'* In his 'note verbale,' ‖ addressed to the Porte, he used these words:—'Il suffit réellement de jeter un regard retrospectif sur l'histoire de ces pays, pour s'assurer que tout l'apanage actuel des religieux Latins en Palestine est le fruit d'empiètements pareils à ceux d'aujourd'hui; qui, poursuivis pas à pas, à l'aide de l'appui politique venant de l'Occident, ont avancé au point de menacer l'Eglise Grecque d'un envahissement général, qui serait en même temps un coup fatal porté aux droits souverains de la Turquie.'¶

There is, therefore, very little doubt of the meaning which the Russians attached to the question. The Latins took precisely the same view. I need not give more than a sample of most numerous testimonies to

* *Correspondence*, p. 64. † *Ibid.* p. 57.
‡ *Ibid.* p. 228. § *Ibid.* p. 160.
‖ 'Note verbale' addressed by Prince Menchikoff to the Ottoman Minister, March 16, 1853.
¶ *Correspondence on the Rights and Privileges of the Latin and Greek Churches*, p. 161.

the same effect, which are scattered over the whole correspondence. Lord Cowley* wrote from Paris, asserting that the whole matter was resolved into a question of precedence between the Greek and Latin Churches. And Lord Clarendon wrote:—'The spiritual head of the Roman Catholics in Turkey, as elsewhere, is a foreign Sovereign; and if it pleased the Sultan to enter into a concordat with the Pope, conferring privileges upon Roman Catholics, not subjects of the Porte, surely that ought to confer no right upon the Emperor of Russia to claim all the benefits of that concordat for the Greek community, subjects of the Porte, whose spiritual head, the Patriarch of Constantinople, is also a subject of the Sultan.'† Consul Neale also asserted‡ that the Turks, as well as the Christians, regarded it as a religious war, and showed equal fanaticism. In this assertion he was borne out by Lord Stratford. The draft protocol of Vienna also§ stated that the plenipotentiaries, having met to consider the original cause of the war, and to prevent its recurrence, provided for the equal privileges of all the Churches, Protestant, Greek, and Roman Catholic.

Thus the conflict of Churches was the real cause of that war. Religion was used, also, as an incentive to fight. Lord Cowley wrote‖ that the insurrectionary movements of the Christians in Turkey were *fomented by Russian agents* (i. e. missionaries), and

* *Correspondence on the Rights and Privileges of the Latin and Greek Churches*, p. 155.
† *Ibid.* p. 568.
‡ *Ibid.* p. 415.
§ *Ibid.* pp. 941, 943.
‖ *Ibid.* p. 963.

by the Greek Government. In June, 1853, a manifesto was published by the Russian Government and read in all the churches.* Lord Clarendon designated it† as 'an exciting appeal to the feelings of the Russian people in behalf of their Church.' By putting the quarrel openly on this ground,‡ the Russians 'rendered it impossible' for Austria to identify herself with them. At the beginning of 1854, the Patriarch of the Russo-Greek Church addressed the soldiers and exhorted them to fight for 'the most pious Tzar,' for their country and Church, against the infidels. Their war-cry was to be *that of the Tzar and the prophet David*: namely, In God is my salvation.§ The manifesto of the Emperor Nicholas, of the same date, asserted that 'England and France have ranged themselves by the side of the enemies of Christianity, against Russia fighting for the orthodox faith.'‖

On the side of the Turks, religious appeals were also made use of. The first proclamation stated that the quarrel was against the exorbitant demands or the Ultramontanism of the Greek Church.¶ The proclamation of Shumla called on the Mussulman soldiers to sacrifice their lives for their religion.** And Lord Stratford wrote†† that 'among the Mahommedans a patriotic is always more or less a religious sentiment.'

That this contest was not a new phase of animo-

* *Correspondence,* pp. 350, 386. † *Ibid.* p. 378. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 383.
§ *Ibid.* p. 976. ‖ *Ibid.* p. 998. ¶ *Ibid.* p. 467.
** *Ibid.* p. 642. †† *Ibid.* p. 753.

sity, but an old quarrel which involved the whole of Europe, is also apparent from this correspondence. Lord Stratford, for instance, wrote * that '*those dormant elements of conflict and confusion, which are already repressed with difficulty throughout Europe*,' had been merely brought into play at that time in Turkey. He then † pictured the similar cases which might easily occur 'throughout Europe.' Such, for instance, as France exercising a protectorate over the Roman Catholic subjects of Ireland, instead of merely attracting their sympathy, as she does at present. At another time,‡ Lord Stratford referred to the same cause, the dissatisfaction and insurrectionary spirit in Bulgaria and in Montenegro. While Count Nesselrode § alleged that the war between Russia and Turkey, *at the time of the revolution of Greece* (which ended in her independence), was a war that was waged on precisely the same grounds, namely, 'on account of the orthodox Greek Church.' He moreover ‖ excuses his Cabinet for the course they had taken, by saying that, at the time of the Reformation, the Reformed States had interfered, and had made treaties and conventions for the assistance and protection of the Protestants of other States, and to procure 'privileges, franchises, and immunity' for them.

Thus France claimed ¶ to be the head of the Latin Church, averring that ever since the time of Francis I. she had protected the Roman Catholics

* *Correspondence*, pp. 256, 257, 258. † *Ibid.* p. 259. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 402.
§ *Ibid.* p. 264. ‖ *Ibid.* p. 307. ¶ *Ibid.* p. 498.

throughout the East. This had been the secret of the Oriental crisis of 1840; and it was the motive which impelled them to intervene between the Druses and Maronites in Syria (said Count Nesselrode). At the time, also, of the treaty of London of February 3, 1830, France claimed to have been for centuries the patron of the Roman Catholics in the East.

This Austria, however, denied. She asserted for herself the right to be the representative power of the Latin Church,* seeing that, by the treaties of Carlowitz and Belgrade, she had become the protector of all Roman Catholics in the Ottoman dominions.

What, then, had England to say to the war? She surely claimed no part in either Greek or Latin Church. Lord Clarendon wrote † that no State had shown such an 'active solicitude' for the Christian subjects of the Porte, or had interfered 'more frequently and energetically than England.' She intervened at this time to protect the Protestants, which Russia then threatened. This Count Nesselrode hinted at,‡ while Lord Stratford states it boldly and without reserve:—

'It may be assumed that the immediate objects of the Court of St. Petersburgh are to acquire a broader and more effective influence over the Greek population in this empire. . . . . It appears that the protection which her Government (Russian) wish to exercise with so little control or limitation, is of a

* *Correspondence*, p. 507. † *Ibid.* p. 533. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 409.

strictly exclusive character; and it has reached me, from more quarters than one, that among the motives for increasing their influence in this country (the Porte) *is the desire of repressing* PROTESTANTISM *wherever it appears.*' *

If it were not for this desire, at that time, to repress Protestantism, we doubtless should have been more anxious to favour the Greek than the Latin Church; for we have no Greek subjects in our dominions. Let us conclude then that 'this vast European problem,' as Lord Russell called it,† was a difficulty arising out of the conflicts of Churches.

SYRIA.

Count Nesselrode, in the above correspondence, alluded to the interference of France in Syria. The Maronites are Syrians in blood, and Roman Catholic in religion. They constantly run with their grievances, real or imagined, to the French consul, as the Druses apply to the English, and the Greeks claim the assistance of the Russian. In fact, it was the French protection of the Maronites for more than a hundred years, that had raised the jealousy and hostility of the Turks and Greeks against the Maronites. On this field, also, the four Churches appeared together; for there were a number of American Protestant missionaries in Syria; and England had procured from the Porte a formal recognition of the Protestants.

* *Correspondence on the Latin and Greek Churches*, pp. 142, 143.
† *Ibid.* p. 883.

The Catholics of Syria were called *Maronites*, because their first patriarch was a monk of the convent of St. Maro, on the Orontes. He was elected patriarch by a general council in the fifth century. The *Druse* teaching or discipline was imported into the country in 1088. The feuds of the Druses and Maronites began from that date. In 1825, the Emir of the Lebanon, at Mehemet Ali's suggestion, or by French inspiration, made an alliance with the Maronites against the Druses; and a Christian was placed over each division of the country, even where the Christians were a minority. In 1840, Mehemet Ali entered the country as the friend of the Maronites, and persecutor of the Druses. This produced rancour and ended in carnage.

EASTERN QUESTION.

Panslavism is only another name for the spread of the Greek Church and of the Russian Empire. New Russia is separated from the Southern Sclaves by a narrow tract of country, which she would fain bridge over. There are the Poles, the Magyars of Hungary, and the Roumans in Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia. With the Servians and Bulgarians on the south of this strip Russia has a strong affinity. The Danubian principalities *almost* bridge over this strip. They are half Sclave in race and Greek in creed. This very year (1863), Prince Couza forwarded Russian arms to the Prince of Servia, to be used against the Porte. There are some of the Greek Church in Transylvania;

but they are a minority. There are some of the Greek Church in Bosnia; but the inhabitants of this district are chiefly Mahommedan. Bulgaria is Sclavonian; but it contains many Mahommedans, as well as 'United Greeks' or Roman Catholics. Dalmatia, Carniola, and Croatia are chiefly Roman Catholic. In Herzegovina the Mahommedans, Greek Church, and Roman Catholics are equally mixed.

In Albania every priest is in the receipt of a yearly stipend from Russia. The influence of the Russian Church is extended by similar means among the Wallachs and Sclavonians of Hungary and Transylvania.* In Anatolia the Sclavonian population are supplied with Church books, containing *obligato* prayers for the Tzar, as their spiritual head. Here, also, pecuniary assistance is secretly afforded to the clergy. In Montenegro the smouldering embers of the discord between the Greek Church and Mahommedans are constantly being fanned into a flame. The flames broke out as soon as Milosch had succeeded Alexander in Servia. Then Pansclavonic intrigues were instantly heard of there too,† and busy Russian agents were sent to Bulgaria and Bosnia to incite the Christians of those parts to rise. All these intrigues have been carried on to this day in Bulgaria, Bosnia, and Herzegovina. In Roumelia there is the same state of things. In Albania and in Epirus there is an everlasting bloody feud between the Greek and Latin Christians. For the mutual animosities of

* Döllinger, p. 138. † Speech of Mr. Layard, May 29, 1863.

Christians always far exceed in bitterness the hostility of Mahommedans.

Besides these combatants there are the Armenian Christians. These hate, and are abhorred by, both Latin and Greek Christians, as bitterly as the Latins and Greeks detest each other. The Armenians, however, can hardly be considered in the light of a struggling Church; for they are scattered over the country. In Erivan (which is in Georgia) there is a greater proportion of Armenians than elsewhere; and there the Armenians do not amount to half the population. Besides this, the Armenian Patriarch is now a subject of Russia. He resides at Erivan in Georgia. In the year 1836 he was removed from Constantinople, where his abode used to be until that time.

Therefore, with regard to this Eastern question, Mr. Layard's seems the only reasonable conclusion: that 'Christian supremacy means Mussulman extermination;' and that if such a crisis ever does arrive, and if the pressure of the Othmans is taken off, the Christians would immediately fly at each other's throats. The European powers having constituted themselves defenders of the several conflicting Churches, a general war of extermination would then be the almost inevitable issue. The Eastern question is, therefore, also nothing but a conflict of Churches.

POLAND.

And now let us turn to the question which is troubling Europe. There, too, we shall find that in former times it was the fierce struggle of

Churches within her bosom which had shattered her strength and caused her destruction.

Upon this convenient amphitheatre the struggle began very early. In 1250, Mindog, King of Lithuania, became Christian, in order to be free from the attacks of the Teutonic knights; for they then fought against the Pagans under a Papal bull. He presently sought the alliance of the Latin warriors as a defence against the encroachments of the Muscovites of the Eastern Church. Five years afterwards the Mongols formed a grand attack against all Christians. Mindog, therefore, knowing that war was a struggle of Churches, became a Pagan again, in order to escape its scourge.

The Reformation three centuries afterwards made rapid advances in Poland. The Pope in terror sent thither the Jesuits in 1622. They carried on a crusade against Protestants, pagans, and the Eastern Church. They met formidable opponents in the Piarrists—the Jansenists of Poland.* During the reign of Casimir, Bogdan the Cossack overran the Ukraine and Red Russia. To his standard all the 'Dissidents' speedily flocked, in order to obtain relief from the oppression of Romanism, and to execute vengeance against their enemies, the Jesuits.† The King of Sweden now landed in Pomerania. The Protestants all flocked to Charles Gustavus' standard.

* The Jesuits were expelled in the year of Catharine's dismemberment of Poland.

† 'Dissident' was a term applied to all who did not belong to the Roman Church. It included Protestants, Greeks, Arians, &c.

Those of the Greek Church speedily joined the Tzar. The remaining Dissidents sought their fortune in Bogdan's camp. Charles advanced in triumphal march to Warsaw and to Cracow. The King of Poland fled. A partition was proposed. The Elector of Brandenburg, the Voivode of Transylvania, and Russia were to share the spoils. However, the treaty of Oliva in 1660 terminated the strife, and secured religious freedom to the victorious Dissidents. This freedom was guaranteed by England, Denmark, and Brandenburg. During the reigns of Frederick Augustus I. and of his son, the treaty was grossly violated, and the Dissidents were persecuted. The Empress Catharine and Frederick of Prussia were enabled, by these persecutions, to set themselves up for defenders of religious freedom, as well as champions of their respective Churches. The country was broken up into 'confederations' or factions. There was in Lithuania a confederacy of Greek Christians which was under Russian protection. At Thorn there was a confederacy of Protestants under Prussian protection. The famous Confederation of Barr was Roman Catholic. There were smaller confederations also, which were branches of these central ones. They amounted, in the year 1767, to the number of 178.* These confederations met at Warsaw. The Papal nuncio and the Russians were now in direct antagonism. The Papal nuncio protested against the recognition of the treaty of Oliva and the freedom

* Latham.

of the Dissidents. During the days of debate the leaders of the Roman party were seized, and the rights of the Dissidents were fully recognised. The result was the Constitution of 1768. This was guaranteed by Russia, in conjunction with the Protestant powers (Great Britain, Denmark, and Sweden).

France, however, took the side of the Roman Catholics in Poland. The minister, Choiseul, clearly perceived the great assistance which the Porte could render to Poland, by making a diversion either on the land or on the Black Sea. He determined therefore, in conjunction with the Confederation of Barr, to bring about a rising of the Romanists in Poland, and then a war between Turkey and Russia. Spain and Austria favoured the intrigue. The Confederates of Barr encamped close to the Turkish frontiers. They were attacked; they retreated across the frontier; they were pursued. The Turkish frontier had been violated. The French Minister then stirred up the pride and anger of the Sultan, and war between Russia and Turkey was the consequence. Russia, however, got Poland into her power, and constrained her to turn her arms against Turkey. The Confederation of Barr had been subsidised by France and Austria; and a French officer, Dumourier, commanded the Confederates.* In 1772 the three Governments resolved on the partition of Poland, in order to put a stop to the contentions of the various Church factions.† This partition was entirely due to the con-

* Latham. † Mosheim, vol. iv. p. 439.

flicts of the Churches. Prussia retained the Protestant portion, which had appealed to her for protection. Russia tore away that large part in which the Greek Church was predominant; while Austria held in her grasp the southern and more Romanist division.

Russia and Poland to this day (as Professor Salavieff says in his 'History of Russia') are divided only by 'religious frontiers.' Every Pole is a Romanist, and every Russian a Greek. When the serfs were emancipated in 1861, the Russian peasantry became free from the Polish nobility, and thus kindled anew the flames of discord between the Greeks and Romanists.

ITALY.

The Polish question, as well as the Russian war, put the Emperor Napoleon into an awkward dilemma. He himself has stated * that he had been always in the closest alliance with Russia. He has therefore been in a position of antagonism to the Latin Church. Yet, on the other hand, he is obliged to favour the ultramontane priests in his own dominions. He is not an hereditary sovereign; but took his stand on a pretended universal suffrage. He cannot therefore afford to break with the Roman priests, who bear such sway in his empire. He must pander to them. He must write despatches against the power of the Eastern Church. He must plant his cannons

* See *Times*, Nov. 6, 1863.

against the hard granite of Sebastopol. He must cross over to Mexico to set up the Latin Church in the Far West; and put down Juarez, the Liberal opponent of the ecclesiastical party. He must go to China to revive the claims of Huc and the Jesuit missionaries in that pagan land. He must send an expedition to Cochin-China to avenge the death of a Roman Catholic missionary there. Yet, all the while, he is anxious to favour the trading and money-getting classes. And, in order to free himself from the galling bondage of Rome, he endeavoured last August to erect again the ancient Gallican Church of France.

Italy presented such another Gordian knot. The Duc de Broglie* states that since the time of Joseph I. of Austria (A.D. 1705) the Court of Rome has been in constant terror lest Austria should establish too mighty a power in Italy, and be thus induced to reestablish the ancient Roman empire on its former foundations; and that, against such a danger, the only resource left for Rome was the protection of France and Spain. Spain has been for some time of no account. France, therefore, was the only champion left for Rome against the increasing power of Austria. While Napoleon III. was only President of a Republic, he secured the earnest good wishes and even cordial assistance of all the Roman priests in his dominions, by sending an army to Rome as a safeguard against the intrigues, and a protection

* *Politique de tous les Cabinets de l'Europe*, vol. ii. p. 371.

against the rapidly-advancing legions, of Austria. The French occupied Rome before the Austrians could arrive. The French won the race. The Austrians halted, and then retired. Thus France stood as the champion of the Latin Church. As such she wrote angry despatches previous to the Russian war. Yet her heart was not in that war. She was friendly to that rival Church which had neither priest nor Greek in French dominions. It was Russia (Napoleon stated at the beginning of last November) who had regarded with a favourable eye his schemes for liberty and nationality in Italy. Napoleon was to drive off Austria, her rival for the championship of the Latin Church. France would withdraw her troops from Rome, and 'force reforms' on the Pope, and thus weaken that Ultramontane Church which was struggling still to keep France in those fetters which had been but newly forged for her. England interfered to prevent war: 'Let us not go further than a conference, at most.' It was the opposing Eastern Church and France who scouted the idea of a conference merely. A voice was also heard in England's senate in favour of maintaining the Pope at Rome, when France and Russia wished to drive him off. The Roman Church, by the Italian war, lost weight in the councils of Europe. That influence it must somehow regain. Where could a Roman Catholic State be constituted? Where could a power be established whose ministers at home would do the bidding of Rome; whose ambassadors

at every Court abroad would be the agents of Latin Ultramontanism? In Poland, of course. And this would give a double advantage: it would also weaken for ever the Russian empire and the hostile Eastern Church. Thus it seems to me that the Italian and the Polish questions have their basis in the conflicts of Churches.*

MEXICO.

Yet Napoleon cannot openly declare against Roman Ultramontanism. In Mexico, Miramon and the Church party had been put down by the people, and by that 'impious' leader Juarez. Napoleon stood up as the champion of Miramon and of the priests. He entered into a close alliance with Catholic Spain. He propitiated Catholic Austria. He restored to the holy Roman empire (of Austria) part of the dominions which were once the glory of Rome's greatest champion. He now weeps crocodile's tears for the sorrows of Popish Poland, and utters objurgatory shrieks against the cruel Eastern Church. If acts do not follow shrieks and tears, the odium will doubtless be thrown on Protestant heretical England. Or perhaps Rome may be propitiated by seeing a piece torn from Protestant heretical Prussia.

* Russia has another hostile Church on the North—a Church whose outworks lie on Russian soil; for Finland and Estonia are of the Lutheran religion.

In India we come in contact with the Mahommedan religion. There is a great religious festival there, the Mohurrum, when rumours of Mussulman plots and intrigues against the Protestants are always rife.

In all these questions, I think I see a backbone of Church-conflicts. It is impossible for me to do more than surmise. For negotiations are studiously concealed; and the secret is carefully kept and defended by multiplied circumvallations and impregnable quadrilaterals of deluding Blue Books, and obfuscating ministerial explanations.

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